

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**

**Senzeni Ncube**

**The Role of Social Capital in the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of  
Zimbabwe: A Case of Rouxdale (R/E) Farm, Bubi District, Matabeleland North  
Province.**

Thesis Presented for the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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Supervisors: Associate Professor H. Chitonge and Associate Professor F. Matose

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## **PLAGIARISM DECLARATION**

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Senzeni Ncube

## **ABSTRACT**

This study investigates the role of social capital towards the realisation of the positive benefits of land through the A1 crop-based villagised model of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), which has been largely viewed as successful in academic literature. The study emerges out of a large gap in scholarly literature, which largely side-lines social outcomes of the FTLRP while focusing mostly on material outcomes. The study contributes to limited research on the non-material outcomes in the Matabeleland North Province, an under researched area in the subject of land reform in Zimbabwe. Thus, social capital was selected to investigate these non-visible outcomes of FTLRP. A qualitative research design was used, with semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, observation, archives and secondary literature being the main sources of data. The study focused on a single case study, beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm in Bubi District. The study brings the following insights: first, social capital played a pivotal role in accessing land. Second, ordinary people acquired land. Third, women were empowered through access to land. Fourth, land is an asset whose benefits far surpass livelihood creation. Fifth, land reform models have an impact on social capital. The main contribution of the study is that social capital promotes solidarity and the tackling of collective problems in land reform models with a communal component. The study illustrates that social capital creates a conducive environment for the attainment of the benefits of land. This is facilitated by beneficiaries' effort to maintain healthy social network relationships. The study demonstrates that various decisions of the state have a potential of hindering social capital in resettlement areas through the destruction of social network relationships, such that its positive impact becomes limited. This portrays the fragile nature of social capital, which can easily be destroyed by external negative factors, regardless of the length of time taken in establishing it. Social capital can be applied in different spheres. However, its outcomes are directly informed by different contexts, thus making it context specific in nature. The study stresses that governments that use social capital in land reform should be conscious of local contextual dynamics before developing programmes that affect beneficiaries, in order to preserve existing social network relationships. The fragility and context specific nature of social capital is missing in the conceptualisation of its main scholars, yet they emerge as important aspects in this study. The study points to the need for these to be incorporated into the core elements of the concept of social capital to create a more holistic framework of analysis. The study therefore argues that social capital is vital in land reform and the post-settlement phase.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ADA	Agricultural Development Authority
AFC	Agricultural Finance Cooperation
AMA	Agricultural Marketing Authority
AREX	Department of Agriculture and Rural Extension
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CA	Communal Areas
DA	District Administrator
DLC	District Land Committee
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DDF	District Development Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
LSCF	Large Scale Commercial Farmers
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NDP	National Democratic Party
NPA	Native Purchase Areas
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PLC	Provincial Land Committee
RDC	Rural District Council
TTL	Tribal Trust Lands

UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZNWVA	Zimbabwe National War Veterans Association
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

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# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

Different types and approaches of land reform programmes have been implemented around the globe to address the inequitable distribution of land arising from various historical injustices. Such programmes bring together beneficiaries from various backgrounds, often with multiple consequences. Scholarly literature has very limited focus on the social relations of beneficiaries, how they address their problems, and how these impact the realisation of the benefits of land. It is against this global background that this study is positioned.

### 1.2 Focus and problem

Studies on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe have focused mostly on the physical outcomes of the programme, such as, *inter alia*, agricultural production, number of land recipients, and the amount of land redistributed. The social outcomes of the programme, such as social relations, the symbolic nature of land as a source of restoration of social justice and sense of belonging have received very little attention. This study contributes to this limited research on social outcomes of the FTLRP, whose insights are drawn mainly from Mashonaland and Masvingo Provinces. It focuses on an under-researched area of Matabeleland Provinces. Thus, social capital is used as a tool for analysis. The study investigates the role of social capital in the attainment of the positive benefits of land through the A1 crop-based villagised model of the FTLRP. It examines the manner in which the A1 villagised model influenced social capital formation, and its contribution to outcomes. Social capital is defined as “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam et al., 1993:17). The study focuses on beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm in the Bubi District, Matabeleland North Province, Zimbabwe, where land was allocated through the villagised model in 2000.

FTLRP was initiated by war veteran networks in 2000 through occupations of white-owned Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) (Moyo, 2013b; Sadomba, 2013). The programme was formalised by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) government in April 2001 (GoZ., 2001). As in other parts of the country, a war veteran-led social network played a key role in the land occupations which facilitated land acquisition by



most beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. While the District Land Committee (DLC) played an administrative role in the land occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, the war veteran-led network and its inherent social capital was central to the success of the process.

According to the FTLRP policy document (GoZ., 2001:2), the main objectives of the programme were, first, to “decongest overpopulated wards and villages,” especially the communal and urban areas. Second, to ensure that local black Zimbabweans would dominate the Large Scale Commercial Farming (LSCF) sector (GoZ., 2001). Third, to “reduce the extent and intensity of poverty among rural families and farmworkers” (GoZ., 2001:2). To achieve this objective, the government would provide them with land for livelihood creation through agricultural production. Fourth, to “develop and integrate smallholder farmers into the mainstream commercial agriculture,” and this would empower them to participate in the export market (GoZ., 2001:3). Provision of the positive benefits of land to the majority of Zimbabweans was at the heart of these objectives.

To realise these objectives, the government designed two models of land redistribution. These were the A1 Model (small-scale model) and the A2 Model (the large-scale commercial model). The A2 model allocated separate pieces of land for each beneficiary “between 400 to 1 500 hectares” and consisted of “small, medium, and large scale farms,” where land sizes were influenced by different agro-ecological zones (Moyo et al., 2009:9). The A1 model had three variants, the self-contained, the third tier<sup>1</sup> and the crop-based villagised model, which is the focus of this study. The villagised crop-based model “settled beneficiaries in a closed village where they were allocated household, arable land” and also grazing land adjacent to the arable land (Moyo et al., 2009:8). Beneficiaries communally share grazing land, social infrastructure and services. The objective of the villagised model was to enhance agricultural production yields among smallholder farmers (GoZ., 2001). It sought to create the “decongestion and the relief of pressure in overpopulated areas” (GoZ., 2001:11). These were the communal and urban areas, with the majority of the “landless, unemployed and disadvantaged people” (Moyo et al., 2009:8). These objectives also point to the provision of the positive benefits of land to beneficiaries as an agenda of the government. The FTLRP models will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, section 4.3.1.

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<sup>1</sup> The self-contained model was a smaller version of the A2 model. The third tier model was a livestock-based model established for drier regions of Zimbabwe (Moyo et al., 2009:8).

The government issued an instruction that all beneficiaries of the A1 villagised crop-based model were to share social infrastructure and services inherited from former white farmers (Murisa, 2011; Murisa, 2013). This shows that the government understood that in order to attain the objectives of the model, beneficiaries originating from different backgrounds needed to have strong social relations to ensure cooperation. Thus, government structures such as the Village Development Committees (VIDCO) and Ward Development Committees (WADCO) were introduced after land allocation. Their role was that of addressing developmental issues affecting beneficiaries at a communal level, which included the sharing of social infrastructure (Murisa, 2009). This points to the awareness of the government that social capital was an essential element for the survival of beneficiaries under this model. Thus, the instruction of the government was an intentional plan to cultivate social capital among beneficiaries.

This study emerged out of the polarised debates on the outcomes of FTLRP in academic literature. Critics of the programme argue that it led to the severe drop in commercial agricultural production (Sachikonye, 2003; Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003; Richardson, 2005). They argue that FTLRP failed to produce “small and medium capitalist farmers” due to government’s lack of capacity to provide adequate post-settlement support (Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003:23). They stress that the programme largely benefited the ZANU PF elite and their connections, while excluding opposition political party supporters and poor farmworkers (Zamchiya, 2011; Sachikonye, 2003; Bond, 2008). They stress that, due to the government’s failure to ensure security of tenure in FTLRP farms, most beneficiaries did not make any significant investments on the land (Sachikonye, 2003). They therefore emphasise that, to a large extent, FTLRP was “an overwhelming failure” (Derman, 2006:24). This analysis implies that the positive benefits of land were largely not accessible to most Zimbabweans.

The supporters of FTLTP, on the other hand, argue that, although the FTLRP beneficiaries faced many challenges, there were significant positive outcomes. They argue that FTLRP provided the much-needed livelihoods for beneficiaries (Mkodzongi, 2013b; Moyo, 2011b; Scoones et al., 2010). They stress that beneficiaries made substantial investments on the land using their personal funds due to limited post-settlement support from the government (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2010; Mkodzongi, 2013a). They add that, even though national commercial agricultural production levels dropped because of FTLRP, there is ample

evidence of improvement documented in various studies (Moyo, 2011b; Hanlon et al., 2013; Matondi, 2012). They also stress that FTLRP benefited mostly ordinary people and that people from the opposition political parties were also included (Moyo, 2011b; Matondi, 2012). These studies imply that FTLRP largely provided the positive benefits of land to most Zimbabweans. The A1 model (both villagised and self-contained) has been largely successful in improving beneficiaries' livelihoods according to the supporters of FTLRP (Mkodzongi, 2013b; Hanlon et al., 2013; Matondi, 2012; Moyo, 2013a). As noted earlier, these academic debates focus mostly on the material outcomes of the programme, with little focus on the non-material outcomes.

The findings of this study are in contrast to the view of the critics who portray FTLRP largely as a failure. They confirm the view of the supporters that improved livelihoods are a notable benefit of the FTLRP through the A1 models, and that social capital played a key role in facilitating livelihood creation. The social networks created by local government structures (VIDCO and WADCO) had a positive influence to livelihood creation. However, they lacked the capacity to address most of the problems faced by beneficiaries because of lack of financial resources and other constraints. Furthermore, the imposition of these structures weakened a very strong war veteran-led social network that had successfully coordinated land occupations. Thus, the kind of social capital they created was much weaker than that of the war veteran-led network. This saw the emergence of other social networks, initiated by the beneficiaries to tackle communal problems, and this response was common across the country (Chiweshe, 2011; Murisa, 2009; Mkodzongi, 2013a). It shows that social capital is an important asset, especially in a model where land and resources are communally shared and post-settlement support is limited. At this stage, the A1 villagised model was still capable of supporting the attainment of the benefits of land although beneficiaries faced many problems of limited post-settlement support.

The A1 villagised model's much bigger problem emerged after its accommodation of the addition of more beneficiaries on already allocated land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. This addition hindered social capital, despite government's intention to promote it. By creating divisions among beneficiaries, this addition threatened the survival of existing social networks through the destruction of trust, which is a core element of social capital (Putnam et al., 1993; Fukuyama, 1995). The full realisation of the benefits of land, which are largely dependent on social capital, would be negatively affected. This would limit the capacity of

the model to continue sustaining the improvement of livelihoods, which are highlighted by the supporters of FTLRP as a success of the programme. Such a critique of the villagised model, which balances the material and non-material aspects of FTLRP, is missing in many studies whose focus is primarily on the material outcomes of the programme.

The addition of more beneficiaries through the A1 villagised model on Rouxdale (R/E) farm is likely to create problems of overpopulation, overstocking and further strain on limited shared resources. This would lead to congestion in the farm, using a model with an objective of “creating decongestion of overpopulated areas” (GoZ., 2001:11). This would further strain social relations, thus hindering social capital. In such a scenario, the attainment of the policy objective of improving agricultural production levels of smallholder farmers (GoZ., 2001:11), would be more difficult since it is largely dependent on healthy social capital. If the problem of the addition of beneficiaries remains unaddressed, outcomes of FTLRP may, in the near future move in the direction of what the critics of FTLRP see as a failure (Derman, 2006; Richardson, 2005). Scholars focusing on the outcomes of FTLRP have neglected these non-material issues, such as social capital, yet they directly influence the realisation of the material outcomes of the FTLRP.

The study therefore argues that, in a context where land and resources are communally shared, and post-settlement support is limited, land reform models should be designed in such a way that they promote social capital. A model that promotes social capital creates a conducive environment for the realisation of the positive benefits of land. The improvement of livelihoods through the A1 villagised model on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was a result of the social capital of local government structures and of beneficiaries. At this stage, the model was still capable of supporting the realisation of the benefits of land, although beneficiaries faced many problems of limited post-settlement support. However, the model’s absorption of more beneficiaries on already allocated land became a problem whose effects hindered social capital, thus limiting the realisation of the benefits of land.

The study also argues that social capital is dynamic. Social networks can dissolve or weaken after the achievement of a collective goal. This is evidenced by the weakening of the war veteran-led social network soon after it accomplished its goal of land acquisition by beneficiaries on the Rouxdale (R/E) farm. This was largely due to the imposition of local

government structures that took over the role of social organisation, as is the requirement in all A1 villages across the country. The study also found that social capital changes in response to evolving common group interests. Fieldwork data revealed that the inability of local government structures to address most challenges faced by beneficiaries led to the emergence of new social networks for this purpose. Social capital therefore depends on the shifting of collective goals. The objectives of the study are the subject of the next section.

### **1.2.1 Objectives of the study**

The main objective of the study was to provide insight into the social outcomes of FTLRP, which have received limited attention in academic literature, which focuses mainly on physical outcomes. It sought to examine the following sub objectives:

1. The role of social capital in the attainment of the benefits of the FTLRP through the villagised model
2. The role of social capital in the land occupations
3. The role of social capital in the land allocation process
4. The problems emanating from the A1 villagised model, and their implications for social capital and attainment of the benefits of land by beneficiaries

### **1.2.2 Research question**

The main research question guiding the study was: What were the social outcomes of FTLRP?

The following sub questions were also examined:

1. What is the role of social capital in the attainment of the positive benefits of FTLRP through the villagised model?
2. What is the role of social capital in the land occupations?
3. What is the role of social capital in the land allocation process?
4. What are the problems emanating from the A1 villagised model, and their implications on social capital, and the attainment of the benefits of land by beneficiaries?

### **1.2.3 Significance of the study**

FTLRP had substantial contribution to addressing the land question in Zimbabwe. Many studies have discussed its various outcomes, whose primary focus is on the material outcomes of the programme. Against this backdrop, it is important to understand the social relations of

the beneficiaries of FTLRP, especially their networks of cooperation during the land occupation and allocation processes, and the role of these networks in the realisation of the benefits of the land. This can inform policy makers and responsible stakeholders about aspects of the programme that need to be addressed in order to improve the impact of FTLRP on the lives of its beneficiaries. Findings of this study will also inform the beneficiaries of land reform within a model with a communal element such as the A1 villagised model, on the manner in which social networks can be sustained and strengthened for the benefit of addressing communal problems. It also fills the gap of knowledge on land reform in Matabeleland Provinces, which have limited scholarly focus on Zimbabwe's FTLRP. The study further uses social capital to analyse the changing dynamics of war veteran-led networks which is missing in academic literature.

#### **1.2.4 Contribution to scholarship**

Social capital promotes solidarity and social cohesion in land reform and post-settlement period, particularly in models with a communal element. The study found that social capital creates a favourable environment for the realisation of the benefits of land. This is facilitated by the beneficiaries' conscious effort to maintain healthy relationships within social networks. However, the study stresses that there are certain factors that work against social capital having a positive impact in land resettlement areas, such as the actions and inactions of the state. It has shown that such factors have a potential to destroy strong relations that are often built over a long period of time, thus showing the fragility of social capital (Kay, 2006). The study demonstrates that while social capital can be applied in different spheres, its outcomes are determined by the characteristics of different contexts, thus making it context specific (Foley and Edwards, 1999; Poder, 2011). Thus, governments that use social capital in land reform should be conscious of local contextual dynamics before developing programmes that affect beneficiaries. This fragility and context specific nature of social capital, which is missing in the conceptualisation of its key scholars (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu, 1986), emerge strongly in this study and thus should be incorporated into the core elements of the concept to create a holistic analytical framework.

This study fills a large gap in literature on the outcomes of the FTLRP, where scholarly literature has paid little attention on social outcomes of the programme and too much focus on material outcomes. While the study acknowledges existing work on the social outcomes of FTLRP (Murisa, 2009; Chiweshe, 2011; Scoones et al., 2010), these are focused mainly on

Mashonaland and Masvingo Provinces. The uniqueness of this study is that it is situated in Matabeleland North Province, where no studies focusing social capital and land reform have been published. In fact, the study focuses on social rather than physical outcomes before and after the FTLRP. Part of its peculiarity lies within the analysis of the war veteran network and its interaction with the A1 Villagised model.

### **1.3 Land reform from a global perspective**

Zimbabwe is not the only country that has adopted land reform. Countries across the globe have done so and implemented different approaches in their different contexts. The inequitable distribution of land is a widespread problem all over the world, and one which requires redress through land reform. This section briefly discusses the definition and approaches to land reform. It also provides a brief overview of the global experience of land reform, including in African countries.

#### **1.3.1 What is land and agrarian reform?**

Land reform is a broad term referring to adjustments in the “legal and institutional framework governing land policy” (Ciparisse, 2003:69). It also involves the execution of those changes to achieve the desired objectives of the land policy (Ciparisse, 2003). The most dominant aspects of land reform revolve around the “reallocations of land and redistributing legal rights of ownership” of land (Ciparisse, 2003:69). Land reform is a response to an unequal distribution of land resulting mostly from land concentration, land alienation, landlessness, urban bias, social injustice and landlordism (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2009; Griffin et al., 2002; Kay, 2006; Moyo, 2003). These problems usually lead to lack of access to land by the majority of the population and, inevitably, extreme cases of poverty (Griffin et al., 2002; Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2009). One of the main aims of land reform is to transfer the benefits of land, such as the creation of wealth, from those who own large pieces of land to the landless such that there is equality (Griffin et al., 2002). A fair adjustment to the distribution of land would lead to “job creation, conflict prevention, economic growth and reduction of poverty” (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2009:7).

Agrarian reform involves measures taken by governments to adjust the system of land distribution, also known as the agrarian structure (Ciparisse, 2003). The main aims of agrarian reform include the “improvement both qualitatively and quantitatively, of the levels

of agricultural production and the standards of living of agricultural producers” (Ciparisse, 2003:60). Thus, focus is on both the beneficiaries of land and their agricultural production patterns. The main components of agrarian reform include the “redistribution of land and changes in the land tenure system” (Ciparisse, 2003:60). This means that, for agrarian reform to be effective, there must be an equal distribution of land. This makes land reform an element of a much broader agrarian reform initiative.

### **1.3.2 Approaches to land reform**

There are four main approaches to land reform, which are; market led or market based, market assisted, state led and participatory. The market led approach stipulates that land be acquired through the “willing-seller willing-buyer” method from the large landowners (Borras, 2003; Lahiff, 2007). This means that land is purchased through the market and its availability is at the discretion of landowners. This method was adopted by Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1999 when land for redistribution was purchased by the state at market prices (Moyo, 1995; Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009). Other scholars note that it was a “market led, and state aided approach” because the state played a key role in land administration (Moyo, 1995:3). Evidence from Zimbabwe showed purchasing land through the willing seller willing buyer approach was very slow since the landowners mostly sold the less fertile pieces of land while withholding more productive land (Moyo, 1995; Palmer, 1990).

The market assisted approach is a variant of the market based approach in the sense that land is also purchased on a willing-seller willing-buyer basis (Borras, 2003). The difference is that the state provides finances to beneficiaries in the form of loans to purchase land from the large landowners (Banerjee, 1999). The state settles the larger portion of the price of the land with the landowner while the beneficiary settles the remaining financial cost (Banerjee, 1999). This approach is seen as a “demand driven” process by its proponents in the sense that the state does not select beneficiaries (Banerjee, 1999:33). However, it depends on the agency of potential beneficiaries to engage the state and satisfy the requirements for the loan to purchase land (Banerjee, 1999). The main disadvantages of this approach are that there is no guarantee as to when the landowners would sell their land, and that it often leads to rising prices of land (Banerjee, 1999). Thus, this approach is very slow and cannot lead to any significant land redistribution (Banerjee, 1999). This has been confirmed by evidence from Brazil, Colombia and South Africa where land reform was slowed down by the market assisted approach (Lahiff, 2007; Borras, 2003).



The state led approach to land reform is “conceived by national governments in a top down fashion and is implemented by their administrative branches through bureaucratic modalities” (Sikor and Müller, 2009). In other words, the government plays a key role in all the processes of land reform, which include the designing of the land reform models, implementation and service provision after the allocation of land. This approach emerged from the view that the state is the most suitable agent of empowering its rural citizens and safeguarding their economic welfare through the provision of land (Borras Jr and McKinley, 2006). It is believed that the state is most likely to prioritise the “landless and land deprived” in a land reform process (Borras Jr and McKinley, 2006:2). Zimbabwe adopted a state led approach to land reform in late 2000. During this period, the government established District Land Committee (DLC) structures which took over the process of land occupations from the leadership of the war veterans, leading to the formalisation of FTLRP in 2001 (Moyo et al., 2009; Moyo, 2013b). Its outcomes will be discussed in the rest of this study.

After a consideration of various critiques of the state led approach, a “participatory approach” to land reform, otherwise known as the “community led reforms” emerged (Sikor and Müller, 2009:1310). This approach is informed by the concerns tabled by various communities concerning their land-related needs, which steer the direction and priorities of the land reform process in a “bottom up” manner (Sikor and Müller, 2009:1310). Due to differences in contexts, the processes of the community led reforms also vary in many ways, including the nature of involvement of the state and various stakeholders (Sikor and Müller, 2009).

### **1.3.3 Types of land reform**

The two main types of land reform are redistributive land reform and land tenure reform. Redistributive land reform is rigorous, and involves the “transference” of land from large landowners to “those with no land at all (landless peasants and wage labourers) or those with tiny holdings (poor peasants)” (Byres, 2004:3). This type of land reform “reduces land concentration,” that is, the monopoly of large and productive pieces of land by a minority of large landowners, while the majority are poor and landless (Griffin et al., 2002:291). It has a substantial contribution to the reduction of poverty through access to land by the landless majority (Byres, 2004; Griffin et al., 2002). Redistributive land reform functions well where governments expropriate land from large landowners, and have control over land prices such that land is available on the market at reasonable prices (Griffin et al., 2002).

Closely related to redistributive land reform is the idea that land reform should prioritise small farmers. Supporters of this view argue that smallholder farmers “generally use land, labour and capital more efficiently than do large scale farmers who depend on hired labour” (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2009:11). They stress that small farmers maximise the use of their land through various techniques of farming such that their agricultural production is much higher as compared to large owners of land (Griffin et al., 2002). They argue that, if governments provide more land to small holder farmers, it would enhance productive rural economies, address poverty and empower small farmers to venture into “non-farm businesses” (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2009). African scholars such as Mafeje (1988), Moyo (2008) and Lahiff (2007) also support the idea that land reform models should be largely focused on producing small farmers. This study adds that land reform models that empower small farmers should accommodate social capital, especially those with a communal element and where post-settlement support is limited. This idea of giving more attention to small farmers is highly contested in literature, and the various debates will not be discussed here.

Land tenure refers to the “terms and conditions on which land is held, used and transacted” (Adams et al., 1999:2). Land tenure reform therefore involves adjustments in the conditions of tenure with the aim of improving the “security of land rights” of those who using the land (Adams et al., 1999:2). This is important because it minimises random “evictions and landlessness” and allows the land users to invest in the land and use it such that “they use it sustainably” (Adams et al., 1999:2). Tenure security provides a favourable environment for successful agricultural production (Byres, 2004).

#### **1.3.4 The global experience of land reform**

An analysis of scholarly literature shows that land reform is a global phenomenon. Countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa and the former Soviet Bloc have a long history of land reform using different approaches. Land reform in Latin America was largely unsuccessful because most of the countries were unable to destroy the domineering power of large landowners (Kay, 2002). The dominant status of large landowners became more entrenched during the land reforms, through the various strategies they adopted (Griffin et al., 2002; Kay, 2002). Thus, these reforms could not address the glaring problems of poverty and landlessness in most parts of Latin America (Kay, 2002:36; Griffin et al., 2002). Countries such as Bolivia, Cuba, Mexico and Nicaragua had more intensive land reforms (Griffin et al., 2002; Kay,

2002). However, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador and Peru had moderate reforms (Griffin et al., 2002:295-297; Kay, 2002). The majority of the poor and landless were largely side-lined by most land reforms in Latin America, with the exception of Cuba (Kay, 2002:36).

Land reform in the former Soviet Bloc countries was, as in Latin America, largely unsuccessful (Spoor and Visser, 2001). This was due to the adoption of the market assisted land reform approach of land reform which was funded by the World Bank with strict conditionalities (Spoor and Visser, 2001). The World Bank funded reform failed to deliver their promise of establishing a vibrant smallholder sector (Spoor and Visser, 2001). The agricultural production levels of smallholder farmers was generally low after the reforms in most countries, except for Armenia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (Spoor and Visser, 2001). While the pioneers of the land reform processes recorded high agricultural output, this was largely from the large landowners, with very minimal contribution from the small farmers in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (Spoor and Visser, 2001). Even those countries that prioritised agriculture, such as Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, had a declining agricultural performance after the reforms (Spoor and Visser, 2001).

The Asian continent had substantially successful land reforms in countries such as Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, China and Vietnam (Griffin et al., 2002). Most of the success owed to the adoption of the redistributive land reform approach, which places emphasis on the establishment and empowerment of the small farmers (Griffin et al., 2002). These countries successfully reduced the monopoly ownership of land by the large landowners through the compulsory acquisition of a significant portions of their land (Griffin et al., 2002; Ladejinsky, 1964). They also established practical and various context-based mechanisms which ensured that smallholder farmers had access to land (Griffin et al., 2002). This led to increasing levels of agricultural production in these countries (Griffin et al., 2002). In South Korea, for example, there was a “3.5 per cent increase in agricultural output per year between 1952 and 1971” (Griffin et al., 2002:307).

### **1.3.5 The African experience of land reform**

Positive outcomes of land reform in Africa have been very limited. In Southern Africa, land reform was hampered by the adoption of the market-based approach which delayed the process of the acquisition of land by governments (Moyo, 2003). The general view has been

that compulsory acquisition of land from large landowners would lead to economic crisis (Moyo, 2003). The progress of land reform is very slow, especially considering that in Southern Africa there is “both a land and agrarian question” with land reform being the most immediate necessity (Mafeje, 2004:3). This resulted from the fact that most Africans were dispossessed of their land during the colonial period, especially in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia which had the most extreme experiences (Moyo, 2003; Moyo, 2005).

South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia adopted the market based approach to land reform (Moyo, 2005). The experience of failing to reach the desired targets for land redistribution was a common outcome in these countries (Cousins and Scoones, 2010; Lahiff, 2007; Moyo, 1995). This resulted in the maintenance of the hegemonic status of large landowners. Thus, these countries largely failed to reduce poverty through land reform under the market principle (Cousins and Scoones, 2010; Lahiff, 2007; Moyo, 1995). Zimbabwe later abandoned this approach and adopted a state led approach which led to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000 (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Chaumba et al., 2003a). This was a response to pressure from war veteran-led social networks which successfully coordinated land occupations in Zimbabwe (Sadomba, 2013; Marongwe, 2003), therefore showing the value of social capital in land reform. FTLRP recorded significant successes in addressing the problem of landlessness in Zimbabwe. The polarised debates on the outcomes of FTLRP are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Countries such as Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique adopted policies that prioritised “land markets over customary tenure in communal areas” (Moyo, 2005:18). Thus, these countries are selling land in communal areas to global large landowners, creating many challenges for the rural poor (Moyo, 2005).

Unlike the settler colonies where land expropriation from Africans was very high, Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding Southern Africa and Kenya) had “very limited land alienation” (Moyo, 2008). Here, the indigenous African people occupy most of the land through a customary tenure system (Mafeje, 2004). It is from this background that the “agrarian question” is more prominent in these countries, and not the “land question” (Mafeje, 2004:102). This means that they mostly require agrarian reform to enhance agricultural production of the rural communities (Mafeje, 2004). Thus, any adjustments made on the

allocation of land are very minimal and are also motivated by the goal of boosting agricultural production (Mafeje, 2003).

#### **1.4 Research design and methodology**

This study uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative analysis aims to gain insight into the specific phenomenon from the perspective of the respondents (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). This is achieved through an “interactive process between the researcher and the participants” (Marshall and Rossman, 1995:4). One of the main advantages of qualitative analysis is that “it is both descriptive and analytic” since it relies on spoken “words” as well as observations of the researcher on the behaviour of the respondents and surrounding context (Marshall and Rossman, 1995:4). This was the most suitable approach for this study because an in depth understanding of land reform and social capital requires such tools.

Another measure taken by the researcher to ensure the collection of rich data was the use of the case study approach. Yin (2009:18) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context.” This allows the researcher to access detailed knowledge and understanding of a particular subject through relationships created with the respondents (Neuman, 1997). In constant interaction, the researcher “looks for patterns in the lives, actions, and words of people in the context of the complete case as a whole” (Neuman, 1997:331). This motivated the selection of a single case study of Rouxdale (R/E) farm as a unit of analysis.

##### **1.4.1 The case study: Rouxdale (R/E) farm**

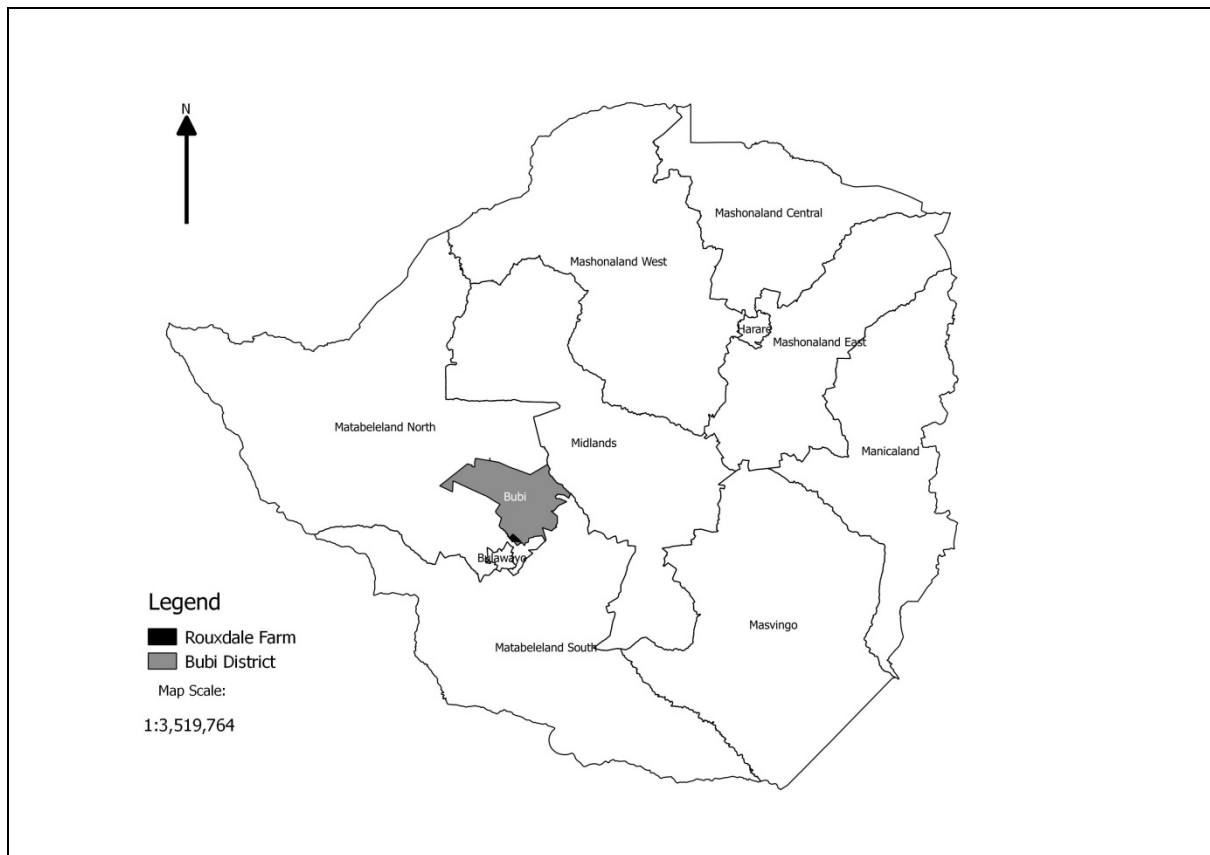
As noted earlier, field research was conducted on the Rouxdale (R/E) farm in Bubi District, Matabeleland North. According to Deeds Office records, the first owner of the Rouxdale Farm was Melt Van der Spuy. He was allocated the farm by the British South Africa Company in 1908. The farm comprised 5 042 hectares.<sup>2</sup> He died in 1910 (Deeds Office, 2014). He nominated his wife, Catherine Hunter Roux as the sole and universal heiress of his estate. The estate was transferred to his wife in June 1918.

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<sup>2</sup> These measurements were converted from morgen and square roods to hectares with figures rounded off to the nearest 100.

From 1918, Catherine Hunter Roux started selling portions of the farm named Rouxdale A and B. The remaining unsold portion of the farm was called the Remaining Extent (R/E). The Remaining Extent (2 723 hectares) was sold to Miss Catherine Lydia Roux in July 1919. This land was further subdivided into two portions, sold as Rouxdale C (642 hectares) and Rouxdale D (642 hectares) in 1921. Rouxdale A, B, C and D have their own history of changing ownership which will not be discussed here. The Remaining Extent was reduced in size to 1 437 hectares as a result of these subdivisions. In 1925, Catherine Lydia Roux sold the Remaining Extent to Arthur Cloete who sold it to Henry James Orford Bowen in 1945. In 1947, James Orford Bowen sold the Remaining Extent to Herman Christopher Pedder who sold it to the Kenyane Farm (Private) Limited in 1953. Kenyane Farm sold the Land to Kenmap Farm (Private) Limited in 1974 (Deeds Office, 2014).

When the FTLRP was introduced in 2000, Kenmap Farm still owned the Remaining Extent, while Rouxdale B also remained under white ownership. These are the farms that were converted to A1 villages through the FTLRP A1 villagised model. Rouxdale A, C and D were privately owned by local Zimbabweans at the onset of FTLRP and thus not affected by FTLRP. The researcher therefore chose the Remaining Extent (R/E) as the case study. Figure 1 below is a map of Zimbabwe showing Bubi District and the location of Rouxdale farm.

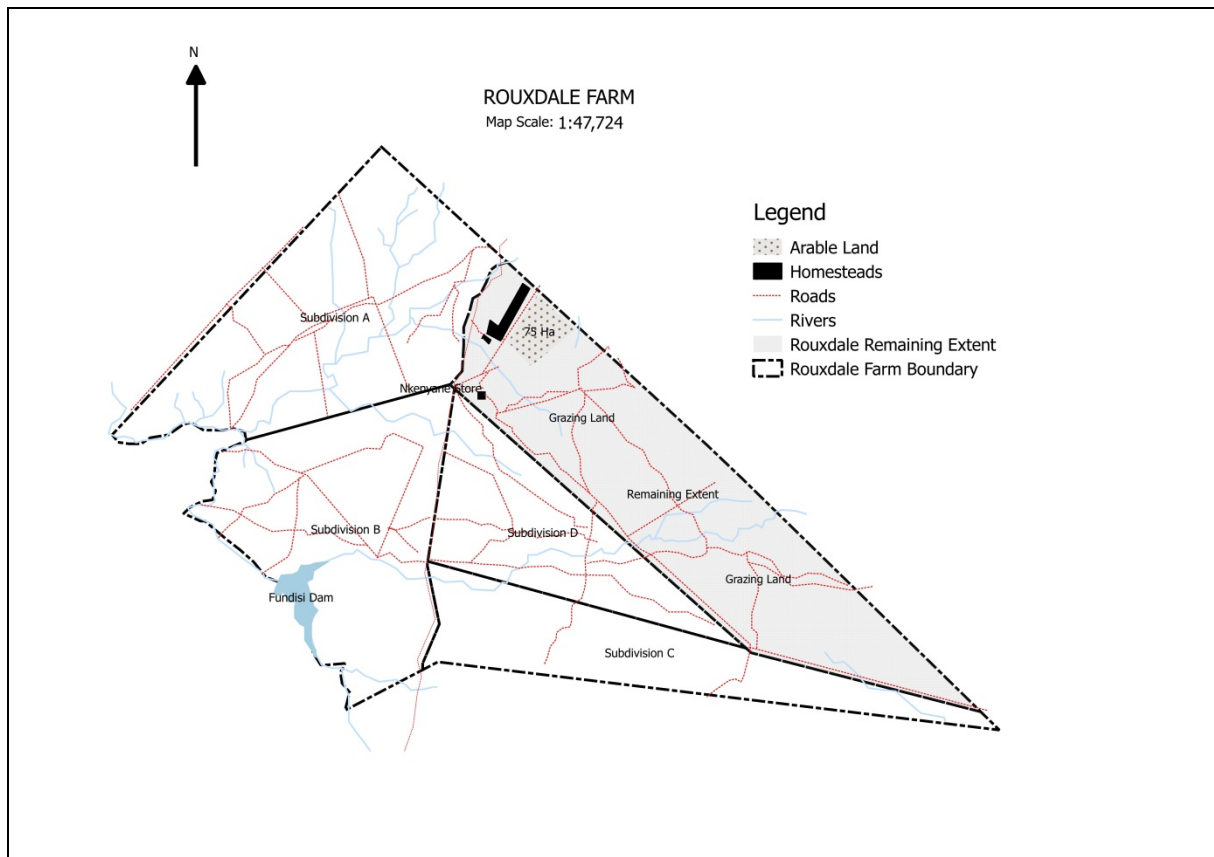


**Figure 1: Rouxdale Farm Location**

Source: Ministry of Lands, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 2014

Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located 30 km from Bulawayo. The farm was previously used mostly for cattle ranching. Neighboring farmers and Beneficiary 1, the son of a former farmworker, confirmed this during the interviews. The beneficiaries who invaded the farm in 2000 also found Mr. Venebull, a white farmer who was renting the farm, rearing cattle on the farm. Matabeleland is a low rainfall region, which is mostly suitable for cattle ranching (Weiner, 1988). There were some abandoned gold mines on the farm, evidence of previous mining activities by former white farmers. However, consultations with the locals confirmed that cattle ranching was the main focus of the previous farmers on this land.

In 2000, 21 beneficiaries were allocated land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm through the A1 villagised model of FTLRP with one additional beneficiary in 2003 bringing the total residential plots to 22. The farm was subdivided into three areas, residential plots, arable plots and a communal grazing area. Figure 2 maps the sections of Rouxdale farm including the Remaining Extent. The map also highlights land use allocation in the Remaining Extent which is the focus of this study.



**Figure 2: Rouxdale Farm Subdivisions**

Source: Ministry of Lands, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 2014

Interview data revealed that, after settling on the land, beneficiaries requested local authorities to also accommodate their grown children by allocating them land on the farm. On being granted permission by the District Land Committee (DLC), twenty-two more beneficiaries were added in August 2014, bringing the total number of beneficiaries to forty four. The new beneficiaries' residential and arable plots were allocated from communal grazing land.

Updated maps which cover the residential plots for the new beneficiaries were not yet available at the Ministry of Lands at the time of fieldwork. In May 2015 the new beneficiaries had started building temporary structures, while others were still clearing the land. The District Land Committee representatives were scheduled to return to allocate arable plots which would further reduce communal grazing land.



#### **1.4.2 Selection of case study**

Initial assessment of the area of study was made when the researcher was introduced to the Assistant District Administrator (DA) of Bubi District by a family friend in January 2014. They discussed the researcher's intention to carry out field research in Bubi District, as well as the focus of the study. A letter from the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town (UCT) signed by the academic supervisor, was presented to validate the researcher's request. The researcher was then granted permission to conduct field research in the District beginning from April 2014 for a period of six months (April to September 2014) in the form of a formal letter. She was advised that further discussions concerning the selection of farm(s) for a case study would be made when she arrived to conduct fieldwork.

The researcher was unable to commence the fieldwork in April but started in May 2014. Upon arrival, the researcher was asked to submit a copy of the project proposal to the DA's office, which would then be forwarded to the President's Office. The Assistant DA explained that in the event of the researcher encountering any challenges in the field, the President's Office would acknowledge the presence of the researcher and protect her. In Zimbabwe, the President's Office is responsible for the Central Intelligence, who are reputed to spy on people and deal violently with any individuals who are a threat to the ZANU PF government. Land reform in Zimbabwe is generally a politically sensitive topic. This made the researcher conscious of constantly being watched by intelligence agents in the field, which, at the beginning of the process of collecting data, was very uncomfortable.

The next stage was that of choosing a farm to be used as a case study. The Assistant DA provided the list and location of all A1 farms in the District. He then referred the researcher to the Provincial Head of the Ministry of Lands, whose office would further assist with more information necessary for choosing the case study farm. Rouxdale (R/E) farm was selected as the case study area. Firstly, it is located in the Bubi District of the Matabeleland North Province, which, according to the Utete (2003) report, had the highest number of Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF), and the highest concentration of land redistributed under the FTLRP in the two Matabeleland Provinces (North and South). No published research was available on the outcomes of FTLRP. Secondly, there were many A1 farms in Bubi District. According to the Utete (2003:62) report, by 2003, "out of the 278 Large Scale Commercial Farms in the District, 124 (89.2%) were officially allocated under the A1 model" (both villagised and self-contained). Thirdly, Rouxdale (R/E) farm was in close proximity to

Bulawayo, where roads were fairly good compared to other parts of the District. This made it easier to access. Furthermore, because of limited funds, it was strategic to select a farm that is close to Bulawayo to cut down costs of fuel for driving to the farm every day, considering that there were also other living costs to be covered.

After Rouxdale (R/E) Farm was chosen, the Assistant District Administrator wrote formal letters introducing the researcher to the Councillor of Ward 14 where the farm is located, the Village Head of the Rouxdale (R/E) farm, and the ZANU PF Chairman of the Ward. The Ward Councillor was very welcoming and excited that the researcher had taken an interest in her area of influence. Being an educated woman who was pursuing an Honours Degree in Development Studies at the time, she also expressed an interest in supporting other women who are pursuing their studies. The Village Head also welcomed the researcher and expressed an interest in assisting wherever possible.

The ZANU PF Chairman however, was very sceptical upon meeting the researcher for the first time. He questioned the proposed duration of the field research, which he said was too long. He was also suspicious of the intentions of the research. This suspicion could have been because issues of land reform in Zimbabwe are highly politicised by the ZANU PF government. Being a ZANU PF leader, he might have seen the researcher's interest in issues of land reform in his Ward as a political threat. However, the Ward Councillor reassured the ZANU PF Chairman that this research would not be of any harm. She highlighted that the researcher had received clearance from the DA's office. She also explained to him that the outcomes of the research would also benefit the District in future. This is the first time a researcher has undertaken an investigation in Ward 14 since land redistribution through FTLRP in 2000. This probably explains the suspicion of the ZANU PF Chairman.

A database of the farm was provided by the Village Head. Rouxdale (R/E) farm was previously used for cattle ranching by white commercial farmers. It was transformed into an A1 village through FTLRP in 2000. Twenty two households were allocated land in 2000. The database captured all their names, contact details and the location of their households within the farm. The researcher used these details to contact beneficiaries for interviews. An additional twenty two households were allocated land in the same village in 2014 during the period of field research. The total number of households in the village is forty four. The

researcher received the database for these new beneficiaries about a month after they were allocated land.

The researcher engaged a research assistant, who had just finished her first degree in Development Studies at a local University and had some understanding of land reform in Zimbabwe. The assistant was also a family friend and offered her services free because she was available while waiting for her final academic results. At first, the research assistant merely accompanied the researcher to help her familiarise herself with the new environment. However, the assistant later became very helpful. After familiarising herself with the focus of the study, she started assisting in collecting information through observations and informal conversations while the researcher conducted interviews. She also assisted in conducting some of the interviews when two separate respondents needed to be scheduled for interviews at the same time. The researcher and the assistant would drive to the farm at about 7am and return to Bulawayo at 6pm every day.

#### **1.4.3 Selection of respondents and sampling**

Before the first visits to beneficiaries, the Village Head had already informed them about the presence of the researcher in one of their meetings and of the researcher's intention to conduct interviews. This was advantageous because, when the researcher started visiting them, they already expected the visits, which made introducing the research intentions and establishing relationships much easier. This took about two months. The initial plan was to interview all twenty-two beneficiaries. However, this was not possible because some beneficiaries were not available during the fieldwork period. Thus, not every beneficiary was interviewed. The interviewees were selected based on their knowledge of land acquisition on the farm and post-settlement land reform dynamics. Participation in the interviews was also based on availability and willingness of the beneficiaries. The selection of beneficiaries for interviews excluded those who were unavailable during the period of fieldwork and those unwilling to participate. However, the researcher's intention had been to interview everyone.

Land reform is a politically charged topic in Zimbabwe, therefore it is not surprising that many beneficiaries were initially suspicious of the researcher who they viewed as an outsider. Some thought that the researcher had been sub-contracted by the government to assess their progress since moving onto the land in 2000. Others feared that recorded information would be broadcast on national radio, and their tenure on the land thus jeopardised. Others suspected

that the researcher was part of the opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) because she drove a red truck. Red is the dominant colour used by the MDC in their logos and campaign material. This fear was also fuelled by the fact that this was the first researcher to show an interest on Rouxdale (R/E) farm since 2000, and therefore the beneficiaries had no previous experience of dealing with researchers.

Other researchers carrying out field research on the outcomes of FTLRP in Mashonaland Provinces encountered similar challenges (Murisa, 2009; Mkodzongi, 2013a). In addressing this challenge, the researcher dedicated more time to building relationships with the beneficiaries as a way of validating her presence in their village. She also took the opportunity to explain the consent form to the A1 farmers. Whenever necessary, she showed them proof in the form of a student card that she is a registered student at the University of Cape Town. The beneficiaries were also given the opportunity to ask the researcher questions about herself and her study to make them more comfortable.

The researcher visited beneficiaries in the company of the research assistant. Initially she had planned to seek the assistance of the extension officer to introduce her to the beneficiaries. However, she changed her mind after discovering tensions between the extension officer and the Village Head. The researcher decided to avoid showing allegiance to either of the two, as a way of protecting herself and also avoiding jeopardising the research outcomes. The first few beneficiaries that were visited introduced the researcher to other beneficiaries who lived permanently in the village. This is how the researcher found respondents for interviews. They also provided information and contact details for beneficiaries who lived in the city of Bulawayo and their times of availability on the farm. This is how the researcher had an opportunity to interview beneficiaries living in the city during their visits to the farm. Through these contacts, the researcher even visited two of these beneficiaries living in the city for interviews.

Initially, the researcher intended to use both Rouxdale B and R/E as cases for the study. Pilot interviews with beneficiaries from both farms were conducted. After carefully analysing the findings, the researcher realised that issues emerging from the interviews were similar. She then dropped Rouxdale B, and retained Rouxdale (R/E) as the main focus of the study. The researcher, however, used some of the information gathered from the pilot interviews from

Rouxdale B in this study as evidence to validate her argument. Categories of respondents are tabulated below:

**Table 1: Categories of respondents**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Number</b>
Rouxdale (R/E) farm beneficiaries	18
Government Officials	9
Neighbouring Farmers	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>

Source: Author, data collected for this study, Rouxdale (R/E) farm, 2014

The government officials include representatives of the District Land Committee (DLC) which was responsible for identifying Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) for redistribution and the whole process of land allocation under FTLRP in Bubi District. These include members of the Ministry of Lands, Rural District Council (RDC), District Development Fund (DDF) and the DA's office. Some of the officials are the Ward Councillor of Ward 14 where Rouxdale farm is located, the Village Head, ZANU PF Chairman, and the extension officer.

## **1.5 Tools of data collection**

The study relied on both secondary and primary sources of information. The researcher reviewed secondary literature as well as reports obtained from the government of Zimbabwe as secondary sources. Semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, observation and archives were used as primary sources.

### **1.5.1 Interviews**

Eighteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with the beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Semi-structured interviews follow “major questions but leave room to alter their sequence and to probe for more information” (Fielding, 1993:136). The interviewer is thus able to adjust the questions depending on the level of communication and understanding of the respondent (Fielding, 1993:136). These interviews allowed the researcher to gather detailed information on the research topic from the respondents (Hennink et al., 2011). The interview schedule was written in English and Ndebele. Most interviews were conducted in

Ndebele, which is an indigenous language widely spoken in the Matabeleland Provinces of Zimbabwe. Most interviews were conducted with beneficiaries who were permanently based on the farm, and a few with those living in the city of Bulawayo, and had hired labour to run their household and arable plots on the farm. The researcher would visit beneficiaries in their homes on various occasions where time was spent engaging in informal conversations and observing their way of life. Scheduled interviews were also conducted during these visits. This approach of data collection was suitable for gaining a deeper understanding of social capital and FTLRP through beneficiaries' own perspectives and experiences, which they shared with the researcher.

The researcher documented life histories of beneficiaries through the use of semi-structured interviews. Interview questions gathered detailed background information on their education and professional backgrounds, when their interest in land began and how they acquired land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Other questions focused on issues surrounding land use, social networks within the farm, benefits of FTLRTP and challenges. This holistic approach of gathering data enriched the insights obtained on social capital and its role in the FTLRP and was therefore appropriate for the study. This rich data were used to provide a new contribution to existing debates on FTLRP.

Interviews with government officials were also carried out to establish their views on the processes and outcomes of FTLRP on Rouxdale (R/E) farm and Bubi District in general. They were also asked questions on their role in the implementation of the A1 villagised model in Bubi District with special interest in the Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Other questions sought their view of land use by beneficiaries, social networks, benefits of land and challenges faced by the beneficiaries. Further questions also established the political context of the research area and their perspective on the planning and weaknesses of the A1 villagised model. Further information was gathered from the Ward 14 veterinary officers who provided statistics of livestock owned by Rouxdale (R/E) farm beneficiaries. Data from the officials was critical in complementing some of the views of the beneficiaries and validating this information. Their perspective of the villagised model was distinct. It provided critical insights into the relationship of the villagised model with social capital and its implications for the benefits of land, which is the main contribution of the study.

One of the close neighbouring farmers, a local Zimbabwean who has owned her farm since the early 1980s, was also interviewed to establish her views on Rouxdale (R/E) farm under white ownership and also her experience living close to what had been converted to an A1 village. Interview questions sought to establish her relationship with the white farmers and with the current A1 beneficiaries to analyse any change.

The first phase of fieldwork ended at the end of October 2014. After the first phase of the analysis, and having identified some gaps in the data, the researcher revisited Rouxdale (R/E) farm in May 2015 for a month. The researcher received a much warmer welcome than before because of previously established relationships. The purpose of the visit was to carry out follow-up interviews with beneficiaries who had been interviewed the previous year, to clarify specific issues that emerged from the data. The researcher's supervisor also visited Rouxdale (R/E) farm at this time to familiarise himself with the researcher's area of study. He met the local authorities and also took a tour of the farm. After the supervisor had departed, beneficiaries were freer to share more information in the follow-up interviews. It is possible that the academic supervisor's visit cleared some suspicions about the identity of the researcher and her intentions and thus led to respondents providing more information.

### **1.5.2 Archives**

The researcher carried out archival research at the Deeds Office located in Bulawayo. This contributed significantly to the background information collected on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Data gathered in this office included a history of Rouxdale (R/E) farm ownership from the first owner in 1908 until the time of FTLRP in 2000. It also provided land sizes, title deeds and deed numbers and the prices at which the land was sold to its successive owners until 2000.

### **1.5.3 Informal conversations and interactions**

Some of the data was gathered outside the interview setting, through informal conversations with beneficiaries and other members of the community. According to Kvale (1996:5), "Conversation is a basic mode of human interaction. Human beings talk with each other... Through conversations we get to know other people, get to learn about their experiences, feelings, and hopes and the world they live in" (Kvale, 1996:5). This method elicited spontaneous views of beneficiaries on social capital and its role in the FTLRP. The data was useful in clarifying and also supplementing interview material.

#### **1.5.4 Observation**

Some of the data was gathered through observation of the daily lives of beneficiaries. The researcher also took walks with the Village Head around the farm to familiarise herself with the land use and organisation of the farm. On such walks, the researcher observed land use patterns and other relevant practices. She also took the opportunity to clarify some of the things observed during these walks. The researcher also attended a few village meetings where she also gathered critical information through observation. This research tool either confirmed interview data or elicited questions for further investigation through interviews therefore providing in-depth understanding on social capital and the FTLRP.

#### **1.5.5 Secondary sources**

The study made use of secondary sources such as published literature, unpublished theses, government documents, and assessment reports from the Bubi District Administrator's Office. The review of literature provided a history of land dispossession from Zimbabweans during colonialism from 1890 until independence in 1980. The review also covered land reform from 1980 to 1999, and FTLRP from 2000 to date. Literature on the concept of social capital was also reviewed. This enabled the researcher to understand debates on the outcomes of FTLRP and social capital and to identify gaps. With this knowledge, this study was then located within these debates, while contributing to filling in the gaps identified in the literature.

#### **1.5.6 Data analysis**

The grounded theory method of analysis described by Tesch (1990) was used to analyse the data. It was chosen because of its explorative nature and suitability for analysing qualitative data. All interviews were transcribed in English. The researcher spent some time reading carefully through the data to familiarise herself with it (Tesch 1990). The data was then placed into major themes, and out of these emerged smaller themes and this was done using the NVivo software (Tesch, 1990). Further analysis revealed themes which were related and those which were peculiar in relation to the research question (Tesch, 1990). After refining the themes, the researcher grouped them into empirical chapters after which they were reported in this study (Tesch, 1990). There was constant engagement of the data with the conceptual framework of social capital and academic literature in the reporting of the themes (findings) of the study.



## **1.6 Limitations of the study**

This study is based on a single case study. This means that its findings cannot be extrapolated to make nationwide generalisations. However, the participants provided rich information which gave the necessary insight into the focus of the study. The researcher was unable to interview the new beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm who were allocated land in 2014. On the second visit to the field area, they were still settling on the land and most of them were not yet permanently present. This would have further enriched the discussion of land reform and social capital.

## **1.7 Ethics appraisal**

The following ethical considerations were undertaken:

### **1.7.1 Ethical clearance**

This research satisfied all the ethical clearance conditions of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town before the researcher embarked on fieldwork. The researcher was therefore provided with a letter from the Department of African Studies signed by the supervisor, which introduced the researcher to all relevant stakeholders in the case study area.

### **1.7.2 Informed consent**

The researcher was aware of the importance of “providing research participants with sufficient information about the research, in a format that is comprehensible to them, and to ensure that they made a voluntary decision to participate in the study” (Hennink et al., 2011:63). This information was communicated to the respondents in their local language, Ndebele. All interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants. After voluntarily accepting to participate in the study the researcher asked them to sign informed consent forms, and the content of these was explained in detail. The researcher also answered any questions asked by the respondents concerning the research process.

### **1.7.3 Confidentiality and anonymity**

Hennink et al. (2011:63) emphasise that “researchers should protect the identity of the research participants and that all personal data should be kept confidential at all times.” The researcher therefore prioritised protecting the confidentiality of the participants. In explaining the research focus to them, the researcher informed them that their names would not appear in the thesis or any other related work. In this study, the researcher used numbers to replace the

original names of beneficiaries. All the members from the District Land Committee and relevant stakeholders interviewed are commonly referred to as land officials throughout the thesis to protect their identity. The Rouxdale (R/E) farm neighbour is referred to as “neighbour.” Land reform is a very sensitive topic in Zimbabwe as it is politically charged. Protecting the identities of the respondents was therefore very important.

#### **1.7.4 Reliability**

Multiple sources of information were used to ensure the accuracy of data collected. As noted earlier, the researcher interviewed land beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, the local stakeholders and a neighbouring farmer to gather different perspectives of the topic of the study. This was complemented by the review of secondary sources of information discussed earlier.

#### **1.7.5 Credibility, confirmability, dependability, and transferability of the data**

Interview data was recorded and transcribed. The researcher has a clear copy of all interviews. The data was carefully analysed systematically to get a sense of emerging themes as discussed in section 1.5.6 of this chapter. This made interview data, credible, confirmable and dependable. Other researchers can also analyse this data. However, in qualitative research the context matters. A similar study can be conducted in a different context and produce different results. This addressed issue of the transferability of the data.

### **1.8 Thesis outline**

#### **1.8.1 Conceptual, historical context and methodology section**

**Chapter One** introduces the study. It provides the focus and background of the study, methodology, significance, limitations, ethics appraisal and the chapter outline.

**Chapter Two** discusses the concept of social capital, which is the framework for this study. It analyses debates around social capital. Some studies present social capital as an important resource for tackling community problems and building solidarity (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990; Field, 2003). Others argue that the definitions of social capital, and its core elements of trust, norms, and transference of knowledge, are too ambiguous and problematic (Sobel, 2002; Durlauf, 1999; Foley and Edwards, 1999). Thus, they stress that social capital is difficult to use as a tool of analysis (Sobel, 2002; Durlauf, 1999; Foley and Edwards, 1999). The chapter highlights the invaluable input of social capital towards the understanding

of the benefits of land reform in this study, despite its weaknesses. It illustrates the usefulness of the concept in bringing insight into the war veteran-led social network that was responsible for land occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Social capital also enhanced understanding of the various social networks that emerged after land allocation, and their contribution to the attainment of the benefits of land.

**Chapter Three** presents the historical background of the inequitable distribution of land in Zimbabwe, known as the land question. It focuses on two critical historical phases. The first phase covers the dispossession of land from Africans in the 1890s, and the resultant inequitable distribution of land, which destroyed African agriculture while promoting the growth and hegemony of capitalist agriculture. It traces the establishment of war veteran social networks that arose mainly because of the land question. These networks were responsible for the liberation struggle for the political independence of Zimbabwe. The second phase discusses the slow pace of land reform in Zimbabwe after independence from 1980 to 1999. This was due to an inherited dual agrarian structure, which continued to safeguard the hegemonic status of white farmers at the expense of the landless majority Zimbabweans. The chapter highlights the reconsolidation of war veteran networks and their role in the land occupations of 1998, which were unsuccessful in addressing the land question.

**Chapter Four** provides detail on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. It discusses the land occupations of white-owned farms, which were steered by war veteran-led social networks, leading to the formalisation of FTLRP. The chapter also provides detail on the implementation of FTLRP, social networks of beneficiaries and debates on the outcomes of the programme. The chapter argues that FTLRP was inevitable because the problem of unequal access to land, which started in the 1890s, remained largely unresolved. Furthermore, the land reform of the first two decades of independence was unsuccessful in providing the majority of Zimbabweans with land and most of the prime land remained with white farmers. Unresolved land issues were evident in the ongoing illegal squatting on land by black Zimbabweans in the first two decades of independence and unsuccessful attempts to acquire land through nationwide land occupations in 1998.

### 1.8.2 Case study section

**Chapter Five** discusses the role of social networks in the land occupation and allocation of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It argues that a war veteran-led network played a key role in the land occupations through which most beneficiaries acquired land in 2000. The network dissolved after its main goal was achieved due to the imposition of the local government structures that took over the role of social organisation. The chapter also notes that family social networks were the main means through which beneficiaries accessed reallocated land in 2003. Central to the chapter is the contribution of social capital in land acquisition by beneficiaries.

**Chapter Six** focuses on the socio-economic backgrounds of the beneficiaries of land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It discusses, *inter alia*, their places of origin, interest in land, previous experience in subsistence farming and their political affiliation. The chapter also differentiates beneficiaries by socio-economic characteristics, such as education levels and employment status, ownership of assets, income levels and place of residency after land allocation. The chapter emphasises the capability of social capital to draw together beneficiaries from various backgrounds through a common goal of acquiring land.

**Chapter Seven** discusses the positive benefits of FTLRP from the perspective of Rouxdale (R/E) farm beneficiaries. The chapter concurs with the supporters of FTLRP that access to land provided much-needed livelihoods for beneficiaries. This is despite the dry agro-ecological zone in which Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located. Crop and livestock production as well as mining were the main livelihood activities of beneficiaries. The chapter further stresses that social capital created a conducive environment for the realisation of these benefits of land. However, it challenges the supporters of FTLRP who place too much emphasis on the material outcomes of FTLRP, such as agricultural production. The chapter argues that other social benefits of access to land are just as important. Such social benefits include restoration of justice for war veterans, a sense of belonging, and empowerment of women.

**Chapter Eight** focuses on challenges faced by beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm under the A1 villagised model. Most problems emanated from limited post-settlement support. The chapter discusses the efforts of local government structures and social networks of beneficiaries in addressing these problems. It stresses that most of these challenges are common across most A1 villages countrywide. Beneficiaries' responses are also common,

that is, the formation of social networks to tackle communal problems, thus showing the value of social capital. At this stage, the model was still capable of supporting the attainment of the benefits of land although beneficiaries faced many problems of limited post-settlement support. The chapter argues that the distinctive problem of the model was that it allowed the addition of beneficiaries onto land earmarked as communal grazing land, and this had more severe consequences. By hindering social capital and threatening the sustainability of available social networks, this weakness would pose negative consequences on the full attainment of the benefits of land by beneficiaries. Thus, the ability of the villagised model to continue improving livelihoods would be limited. The chapter therefore argues that land reform models should be designed in such a manner that they promote social capital. This is in a context where part of the land, resources, and services are communally shared, and post-settlement government support is limited.

**Chapter Nine** provides the key findings and conclusions of the study. The study had five main findings, which are, first, social capital played a pivotal role in accessing land. Second, ordinary people acquired land. Third, women were empowered through access to land. Fourth, land is an asset whose benefits far surpass livelihood creation. Fifth, land reform models have an impact on social capital. Findings of this study are contrary to the view of the critics of FTLRP, who portray it as a failure. The findings concur with the supporters of FTLRP that the provision of livelihoods to beneficiaries through the A1 models was a success. However, the study stresses that, if the major weakness of the villagised model are considered, in particular its flexibility for the addition of more beneficiaries on communal grazing land, this success may not be sustainable in the near future. This addition of beneficiaries is a unique problem that undermines social capital, which, as mentioned earlier, is a valuable asset in a model with a communal element. The study therefore concludes that in a context where land relations have a communal element, land reform models should promote social capital because this allows for the full realisation of the benefits of land. Findings of the study also highlight the dynamic nature of social capital. Firstly, social networks weaken after a common goal is accomplished. A once very strong war veteran-led social network that steered the land occupations, for instance, dissolved after the beneficiaries received land, mainly due to the weaknesses of the villagised model. Secondly, social capital is not fixed, but changes in accordance with shifting collective goals. The emergence of multiple social networks on Rouxdale (R/E) farm after the dissolution of the war veteran-led

network and failure of the local government structures to tackle all beneficiaries' problems is such an example.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Conceptual Framework: Social Capital**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Social capital is a controversial and multifaceted concept in academic literature with many definitions. This study defines social capital as “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam et al., 1993:17). This means that mutual relationships within communities are essential for the smooth running of society. Some researchers argue that social capital is an important resource for addressing collective problems and maintaining solidarity (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990; Field, 2003). Others argue that the definitions of social capital and its core elements are unclear, therefore difficult to understand to use for analysis. They also argue that social capital’s main weakness is that it can be used to achieve goals that are destructive to societies, such as crime (Sobel, 2002; Durlauf, 1999; Foley and Edwards, 1999). In this study, the concept of social capital is used to provide insight into the benefits of the FTLRP. Use of this concept enhanced understanding of the war veteran-led social network responsible for land occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Social capital was also an invaluable resource for collective action even after land allocation, owing to the communal component of the villagised model.

The first section in this chapter focuses on definitions of social capital, including the ideas of Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1990) who are the leading scholars in the field. Putnam (2000), Coleman (1990) and (Field, 2003) argue that social capital is an important resource for tackling community challenges and building solidarity. They claim that social capital facilitates communal action for the common good of society and makes possible the achievement of plans that would not have succeeded without it (Coleman, 1990; Field, 2003). Their view is that social networks are valuable. The main elements of social capital discussed in this study are: norms, trust, and the transference of information within social networks (Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2001; Putnam, 2000).

The second section briefly discusses the types of social capital relevant for this study. These include: bonding social capital, which is restricted to closely knitted groups and relationships, such as families; and bridging social capital, where network membership accommodates various groups of people with different backgrounds. This section also discusses horizontal

social networks, which involve people at the same level in terms of power, and vertical networks, which bring together people at different levels of power where some have a higher social, political or economic standing than others (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009; Putnam, 2000).

The third section discusses views of those who critique the concept of social capital in social research. These researchers argue that social capital is not clearly defined and that it does not have the necessary qualities for it to be considered a type of capital (Portes, 1998; Durlauf, 1999). Others argue that trust, as a core element of social capital, does not necessarily cultivate cooperation as claimed by the supporters of social capital, but that the opposite could be true (Foley and Edwards, 1999). Another concern is that norms, which are another core element of social capital, can also benefit deviant groups of society, often with negative consequences (Middleton et al., 2005; Sobel, 2002), and that studies often ignore the fact that social capital functions differently in different societies (Kay, 2006; Foley and Edwards, 1999).

The fourth section is the justification for the use of the concept of social capital in this study, in the light of its critics. This section points to studies that have convincingly demonstrated that social capital is important in addressing mutual goals and establishing unity in society despite its weaknesses. The supporters of the concept of social capital acknowledge some of its weaknesses (Putnam, 2000; Field, 2003), but the study emphasises that its strengths far outweigh the weaknesses.

## **2.2 Brief history of social capital**

Scholarly literature has shown that the concept of social capital has a very long history, which dates back to the early 1800s. Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009) express:

The intellectual history of social capital can be traced back to Karl Marx (1818-1883), Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), Marx Weber (1864-1920)...these scholars emphasise the role of culture in economic development – an implicit use of the idea of social capital (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009:487).

Poder (2011:341) explains that the focus of research then was “to identify the various aspects of social relations and the ways in which it [sic] can influence a wide variety of economic, political and social phenomena.” The importance of relationships and achievement of common goals therefore featured as the main aspect of what would later be known as social



capital in the analysis by the earlier theorists (Field, 2003:6). Evidence of this thinking was also documented in various scholarly works between the 1950s to the 1970s even though it had not yet become prominent in academic literature. (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009).

The work of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) marked the first comprehensive analysis of the concept of social capital and “its entry into academic debates” (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009:487). However, the scholarly work of Putnam et al. (1993) made the concept of social capital widely known, thereby “rescuing it from the abstraction of social and economic theory” (Field, 2003:4). Other scholars also concur that it is through Putnam et al. (1993)’s work that “social capital attracted the attention of researchers and policy makers” (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009:489). Indeed, many scholars use Putnam et al. (1993)’s work as a point of reference when analysing the core components of social capital, therefore confirming his major contribution towards the understanding of the concept.

A new insight into the exposition of social capital by current scholars is noted by Field (2003), who states:

The questions addressed by social capital are different from those tackled by the classical theorists. The idea of social capital draws attention to the links between the micro-level of individual experiences and everyday activity and the meso-level institutions, associations and community (Field, 2003:7).

This also confirms the value of relationships in communities as the most important aspect of social capital. According to Field (2003:8-9), social capital has some aspects of economics, particularly the concept of human capital, which he defines as “the economic value of firms, individuals and the wider public of such attributes as skill, knowledge and good health.” After reflecting on scholarly debates on whether social capital complements human capital or is an alternative concept to human capital, Field (2003:9) concluded that social capital is “an attempt to modify the traditional focus of economics on individual behaviour by stressing the social bias of people’s decisions.” This means that social relations matter, they have a substantial contribution to the understanding of economics.

The establishment of social capital is often a response to various needs or problems that arise in society, often requiring a collaborative effort. Durlauf (1999) describes the environment that promotes social capital:

Social capital seems to arise in circumstances when there are socio-economic ‘frictions,’ by which I mean circumstances where there is a need for some sort of collective action to overcome failures of uncoordinated individual decisions (Durlauf, 1999:3).

In this study, the socio-economic “frictions” would be twofold: first, the unresolved inequitable distribution of land (Sadomba, 2013; Chaumba et al., 2003a), in a context of a downward spiralling economy (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2006). These are the kind of problems that require collective effort.

### **2.3 What is social capital?**

Literature on social capital has revealed the multifaceted nature of the concept. It has multiple definitions presented by scholars in social science research with the common thread being that social networks are important for building healthy communities. This section presents a few of the multiple definitions of social capital, which are relevant in framing this study. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as:

The aggregate of the actual resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance. It provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986:249).

In their analysis of Bourdieu (1986)’s definition, Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009:487) assert that the depth and quality of social capital “depends on the size of the network and volume of capital (cultural and economic) in these connections’ possession.” They identify three elements of social capital in Bourdieu (1986)’s definition which are:

a) the social relationship that enables actors to gain access to resources possessed by their associates (that is, resources embedded in social connections), b) the amount of these resources produced by the totality of the relationships between actors and c) the quality of resources (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009:489).

Bourdieu (1986)’s view of social capital clearly highlights that, through social networks of established relationships, people benefit from each other. Coleman (1990), who defines social capital through its function, points to its importance for building communities. He highlights that

[Social capital] is not a single entity but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate certain actions of individuals within that structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence (Coleman, 1990:302).

His definition, just like Bourdieu (1986), implies that one has to be part of a social network in order to access its benefits, meaning that it is not possible for one to benefit from a network that they are not part of. The definition also stresses that it is not possible to achieve certain goals individually, especially those whose outcomes affect a larger group or community. Coleman (1990:304) also emphasises the importance of relationships, which establish social networks, stressing that these relationships “facilitate action” and make social capital a “common good.” He identifies trustworthiness, norms and transmission of information within networks as the main entities of social capital and these will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter (Coleman, 1990).

According to Putnam et al. (1993:167), social capital is “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” He also defines it as “connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000:19). These definitions also point to the importance of social relationships within networks that have mutual benefit. They also reiterate Coleman (1990)’s view that for networks to function, there must be a code of conduct (norms) and dependability (trust) among the relationships within the group. Putnam et al. (1993:170) concur with Coleman (1990) that social capital is a “public good,” meaning that social networks are not meant to benefit only individuals, but the wider community in general. A common thread that cuts across Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1990) and Putnam et al. (1993) is, according to Field (2003:13), that “personal connections and interpersonal interaction together with the shared sets of values that are associated with these contacts” (Field, 2003:13). They all elevate the importance of social relations, which are directed by mutual goals as the core underlying characteristic of social capital.

Lin (2001:6) defines social capital as “an investment in social relations with expected returns.” She also defines it as “resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilised in purposive actions” (Lin, 2001:12). While also highlighting the importance of relationships in social networks like other researchers, his definitions stress that social networks must have a strategic agenda which steers their direction. Lin (2001) also notes that it is within networks that people gather valuable ideas and knowledge about particular issues, concurring with Coleman (1990) that this information facilitates the implementation of collective ideas. Being in a network with shared ideas is, according to Lin

(2001), a source of emotional support and self-confidence and also gives members the right to access resources.

Fukuyama (1995:26) sees social capital as “a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it.” He explains that this trust arises from an agreed standard of behaviour among communities resulting in relationships that are “loyal, honest and dependable” (Fukuyama, 1995:26-27). In his later work, he provides a slightly different definition of social capital, showing the multifaceted and complex nature of the concept. He defines it as “an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two individuals” Fukuyama (2001:7). Worth noting is that trust is no longer a core element in his later definition where he argues:

Trust, networks, civil society and other elements which have been associated with social capital are all epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not contributing to social capital itself (Fukuyama, 2001:7)

In the above quotation, Fukuyama (2001) treats trust as a secondary phenomenon which is caused by social capital. However, the fact that his definitions are centred on trust, norms and social networks confirms others scholars’ view that relationships among communities are important for building solidarity and solving collective challenges. This is further emphasised where he notes that a community with strong norms results in “traditional virtues like the keeping of commitments, reliable performance of duties, reciprocity and the like” (Fukuyama, 2001:8).

A more simplified definition is provided by Field (2003:1), who notes that “people’s connection through a series of networks and sharing common values with other members of these networks to the extent that these networks constitute a resource, can be seen as forming social capital.” This definition resonates with others discussed earlier, such as Putnam et al. (1993) and Coleman (1990), where relationships of people within various groups are seen as the core of social capital. He also echoes the views of these scholars where he states that these social networks “are a basis for social cohesion” and facilitate “cooperation” for the development of the community (Field, 2003:12).

Drawing from various definitions documented in literature, Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009:486) provide a much broader view of social capital:

...a stock of social norms, values, beliefs, trusts, obligations, relationships, networks, friends, memberships, civic engagement, information flows, and institutions that foster cooperation and collective actions for mutual benefits and contributes to economic and social development (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009:486).

Social relations are also the connecting thread of all the entities of this broad definition by Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009). Indeed all the definitions of the concept of social capital discussed briefly in this section stress the importance of relationships within social networks which are essential cooperation towards tackling communal problems and building solidarity. This, in turn, results in the building of better and healthy communities where people assist each other thus fostering development. The importance of social capital in community building is not to be underestimated.

## **2.4 Elements of social capital**

### **2.4.1 Norms**

Norms are an important element of social capital. A norm is an agreed form of behaviour, code of conduct or beliefs within a group of people. Putnam et al. (1993) identify reciprocity as one of the most functional norms in social networks. Coleman (1990) refers to this type of norm as “obligations” among individuals in a group. In essence, they both highlight that an exchange of things or favours for the benefit of others in social networks makes them function better as this builds a sense of togetherness. Field (2003:3) also stresses this point where he states that “connections bring obligations to other people, but by the same token, then acquire obligations to you.” These norms provide protection of the shared interests of social networks from outside influence and assist in the reinforcement of these interests and goals (Coleman, 1990). They essentially define the group and give it some form of identity.

The benefits resulting from the establishment of norms are enjoyed by the group members, thus a good norm shifts the focus of interest from the individual to the larger group in general (Coleman, 1990). Some of these benefits are the “building of nations, strengthening of families” and basically, the creation of strong mutual relationships (Coleman, 1990:311). This is achieved through focusing on attaining common objectives while at the same time “binding society together” (Field, 2003:3).

Putnam (2000) identifies two types of norms of reciprocity, and these are, balanced and generalised reciprocity. Balanced reciprocity occurs when one does something for someone

expecting something in return (Putnam et al., 1993); for instance, “I’ll do this for you if you do that for me” (Putnam, 2000:20). Generalised reciprocity on the other hand is:

...a continuing relationship of exchange that is at any time unrequited or imbalanced, but that involves mutual expectations that a benefit granted now should be repaid in the future (Putnam et al., 1993:172).

The fact that generalised reciprocity occurs in longstanding relationships with constant communication and engaging with other members of the networks makes it more valuable, sustainable and ‘productive’ in the sense that it leads to the establishment of trust (Putnam, 2000; Putnam et al., 1993). It is through this norm, Putnam et al. (1993) stress, that communities can effectively solve shared problems, because it establishes stronger networks with more capacity for action.

Coleman (1990) and Putnam et al. (1993) concur that closely compacted social networks with stronger norms and obligations provide more social capital to their members. Coleman (1990) explains:

The density of outstanding obligations means, in effect, that the overall usefulness of the tangible resources possessed by actors in that social structure is amplified by their availability to other actors when needed” (Coleman, 1990:307)

This means that, in dense networks, members have more resources available from others. At the same time, they also provide their resources to other members frequently, thereby multiplying obligations towards themselves. Civic engagement networks, such as neighbourhood associations, are some of the examples of networks with stronger norms and obligations (Putnam et al., 1993).

#### **2.4.2 Trust**

The need for members of social networks to trust each other is seen as another essential component of social capital. Some scholars argue that social networks with stronger and established norms are more likely to generate trust (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990). Fukuyama (1995:171) expresses this view when he states that “out of such shared values comes trust, and trust has a large and measurable economic value.” This implies that, without shared norms, it is not possible to generate trust in social networks. The importance of trust lies in the fact that it “lubricates cooperation” such that communities with high levels of trust are capable of achieving more common goals and solutions to problems (Putnam et al., 1993:171). Trust gives people the assurance that their group members will reciprocate their

good deeds and return favours rendered to them (Coleman, 1990). These social networks are further strengthened by the positive effects of solidarity and implementation of various collective plans, which also solidify trust (Putnam et al., 1993). Trust can also be passed on to others within networks, especially where one chooses to trust certain individuals just because they are also trusted by someone he/she trusts (Putnam et al., 1993).

Putnam (2000:136) differentiates between two types of trust, namely, “thick trust” and “thin trust.” Thick trust is generally a high level of trust found in strong, established relationships, with frequent communication, couched in larger social networks (Putnam, 2000). Thin trust is much weaker since is not based on frequent interaction and sharing of ideas which strengthen relationships (Putnam, 2000). There is very little familiarity and personal relationships amongst people in networks with thin trust (Putnam, 2000).

Some of the supporters of social capital challenge its main elements. Field (2003), for instance, highlights the complications arising from the integration of trust into the concept of social capital. He opposes Putnam et al. (1993) and Coleman (1990)’s view that trust leads to the effective implementation of collective plans, stating that in fact, even with very little trust, many relationships seem to function properly (Field, 2003). In essence, Field (2003) suggests that trust in social networks is not as important as some scholars have portrayed. He concurs with some of the critics of social capital, such as Foley and Edwards (1999), that trust should not be made a core element of social capital. This study, however, is in line with those who see trust as an integral component of social capital and this will be discussed in detail in Chapters Five to Eight.

#### **2.4.3 What cultivates/diminishes social capital?**

Since social capital is centred on social relations, the maintenance of these relations is important for its survival. Bourdieu (1986) stresses that members of social networks should make a conscious effort to build, strengthen and cultivate their relationships so that they are continuously beneficial and reciprocal. This means that members of networks should invest their time and communication to achieve this. If these relationships are not nourished, they dissolve and cease to exist (Putnam et al., 1993). In such cases, “expectations and obligations wither over time if not renewed, since norms depend on regular communication” (Coleman, 1990:321). It is from this premise that social networks can be easily formed and at the same time destroyed, depending on the nature of relationships (Putnam et al., 1993).

## **2.5 Types of social capital**

There are many types of social capital documented in literature. This section focuses only on those directly relevant for this study, which are: bridging, bonding, horizontal and vertical social capital.

### **2.5.1 Bridging and bonding social capital**

Bonding social capital “denotes ties among people who are very close and known to one another, such as immediate family, close friends, and neighbours” (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009:498). Other examples of bonding social capital are based on “religion, gender and political affiliation” (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009:498). One of the main limitations of bonding social capital is that, while it creates very close relationships with high levels of trust and dependability, members of these networks are hindered from involving themselves with other network groups from wider society in order to access more resources (Leonard, 2004). It is from this premise that this type of social capital is seen as very restrictive (Leonard, 2004) due to its “inward looking” nature (Putnam, 2000:22). On Rouxdale (R/E) farm, some beneficiaries accessed land through bonding social capital. They received information from their family members who were beneficiaries of land on the farm, about opportunities to replace those beneficiaries who had failed to invest in the land three years after the official land allocation in 2000.

Bridging social capital on the other hand, involves people from various groups in the wider society in its social networks (Putnam, 2000). The main advantage of this type of networking is that its wide scope allows for the accumulation of more resources from network members through the sharing of ideas and knowledge as well as various forms of help (Larsen et al., 2004).

### **2.5.2 Horizontal and vertical social capital**

Vertical social capital entails those social networks that connect people with different levels of social status and power, where some are more powerful than others (Putnam et al., 1993; Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009). It is very difficult to build trust and implement plans and collective ideas in such networks because of unequal power relations (Putnam, 2000). Those in power have more advantages than those with less power (Putnam, 2000). Horizontal social networks, on the other hand, are composed of people who are more or less of equal social standing and influence (Putnam et al., 1993). Some of the examples of these networks are



“neighbourhood associations [and] cooperatives” (Putnam et al., 1993:173). These networks usually involve people from different social groups and backgrounds, therefore spreading social capital to a community level or even wider, thus crucial for tackling common problems and goals.

## **2.6 Critics of social capital**

Due to the controversial and multifaceted nature of social capital, many researchers have criticised its various components. This section focuses only on those critics who challenge the elements of social capital discussed in the previous sections. As expected, much focus has been on the definitions of social capital. Durlauf (1999) argues that the concept of social capital is not clearly defined and confusing due to its multiple meanings. He stresses that it is therefore difficult to use as a tool for analysis because it is not clear as to what social capital really is and what it is capable of achieving (Durlauf, 1999). Portes (1998:5) concurs, stating that Coleman (1990)’s work, where he defines social capital through its function, is ambiguous and therefore can be interpreted from different angles by different people. These critics therefore see a good definition of a concept of social research as one that has limits and boundaries such that it can be measurable.

Other researchers who see social capital through the lens of economics, stress that the concept does not qualify to be seen as capital because it is not capable of being sold or transferred economically (Arrow, 1999). Others argue that social capital does fall under capital because economists regard human capital as capital, even though it cannot be sold or transferred like other forms of capital (Poder, 2011). Human capital was defined earlier in this chapter in section 2.2. However, they admit that accepting social capital is problematic and open to interpretation, such that the chances of the concept becoming meaningless in the end are very high (Poder, 2011).

Poder (2011) critiques Bourdieu (1986)’s definition of social capital which focuses on resources or benefits that members of networks acquire through relationships. He argues that it is not possible that relations within the networks can be equal. He stresses that the nature and structure of these networks influence the level of benefits acquired by members (Poder, 2011). He explains:

...those who occupy strategic positions in the network can be regarded as having more social capital than others, precisely because their position gives them more access to more and better resources (Poder, 2011:351).

This means that those without power to influence decisions in social networks benefit less. Foley and Edwards (1999) also concur that the power dynamics in social networks have a direct influence on the level of access to the group benefits.

The lack of clarity as to what sequential steps should be followed for social capital to produce the desired results is another problem identified by critics (Durlauf, 1999). The major scholars (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990) subscribe to the view that building trust leads to healthy communities. However, others question this relationship, asking: “do trust-building social networks lead to efficacious communities, or do successful communities generate these types of social trust?” (Durlauf, 1999:3). They argue that this question remains unaddressed (Durlauf, 1999:3). Foley and Edwards (1999), however, highlight that there is no connection between trust and the creation of a healthy and successful society. They add that trust is a result of successful cooperation, meaning that it is through cooperation that individuals within networks strengthen relationships to the extent that they become trustworthy (Foley and Edwards, 1999). Others argue that trust is actually too delicate because it takes a very long time to build, but can be easily broken (Kay, 2006).

According to Durlauf (1999), social capital is open for use by social deviants to achieve outcomes that are negative and destructive to society. In some instances, people are forced to join deviant people’s networks in order to protect themselves from becoming their victims even though they do not necessarily share any values with them (Sobel, 2002). Another disadvantage of being part of community networks is that they impose expectations to respect norms that create undesirable boundaries for others even though they are seen to be beneficial for the wider community (Poder, 2011). The views of Sobel (2002) and Poder (2011) imply that it is not possible for social networks to benefit every individual member.

Foley and Edwards (1999) challenge Putnam et al. (1993)’s approach of drawing conclusions on social capital from a large national case study (Italy) as problematic. They argue that, such an approach is too generalised and misses finer details (Foley and Edwards, 1999). They also emphasise the context-specific nature of social capital, that each social context contributes to the manner in which members of network groups access their benefits (Foley and Edwards,

1999). Others argue that the ideas of the ruling authorities actually have a great influence on social capital (Kay, 2006). Poder (2011:358) concurs that “access to social capital is undoubtedly different between individuals depending on local context, financial resources and educational level.” The fact that the social context is not one of the main components of social capital is therefore seen as a major weakness.

## **2.7 Relevance of social capital in this study**

Despite the multiple criticisms, social capital remains a valuable concept of analysis. Many studies have illustrated its important contribution in various contexts. After an analysis of a variety of studies, Field (2003) found that, to a large extent, social capital did deliver most of its promises. He explains:

It seems in general that social capital broadly does what the theorists have claimed...people who are able to draw on others for support are healthier than those who cannot, they are happier and wealthier and their communities suffer less anti-social behaviour (Field, 2003:45).

Coleman (1990); Putnam (2000), Bourdieu (1986), Lin (2001) and Potapchuk et al. (1997) have illustrated the various advantages of social networks as a resource for social cohesion, advancement of society and tackling community challenges. This study is another example of the successful engagement of the concept of social capital because focus was on social networks and their contribution towards the acquisition of land, addressing communal challenges and the attainment of the benefits of land by beneficiaries.

Those scholars who see social capital as a valuable resource admit that, like any other concept, social capital has weaknesses. For instance, Putnam (2000) acknowledges that social capital can also benefit deviant groups to achieve motives that are destructive to society. Field (2003:74) also notes the effects of unequal power relations that may exist in social networks where he states that “social capital can promote inequality because access to distinct types of networks may be unequally distributed.” However, this does not change the fact that social capital remains an important and useful analytical tool in social research.

This study welcomes views of the critics of social capital that outcomes of social capital are context specific and that trust in relationships can be easily broken (Foley and Edwards, 1999; Kay, 2006). The kind of outcomes of this study, whose focus is a small village of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, would be more detailed than a larger national case study. This means

that the chances of glossing over local dynamics, as highlighted by Foley and Edwards (1999) earlier, are limited. Although the study will illustrate the fragility of trust as a form of social capital, it still maintains that trust itself is a useful tool for investigating social relations within social networks as will be illustrated in Chapter Eight.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This chapter's focus was on the concept of social capital. It discussed debates on social capital and its relevance to this study. Some studies argue that social capital is an important resource for addressing collective problems and building solidarity (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990; Field, 2003). They stress that social capital facilitates cooperation towards achieving the common good of society and that it makes possible the achievement of goals which would not have been accomplished without it (Coleman, 1990; Field, 2003). The general view of these studies is that social networks are valuable. Trust and norms were identified as the main elements of social capital adopted for this study (Putnam, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995; Coleman, 1990). Four different types of social capital were discussed: bridging, bonding, vertical and horizontal social capital (Putnam, 2000; Leonard, 2004; Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009).

Critics of social capital claim that it is not clearly defined and ambiguous and therefore difficult to use for analysis (Durlauf, 1999; Portes, 1998). They stress that social capital is actually not capital because it cannot be sold or transferred like other forms of capital (Arrow, 1999). Others problematise the notion of trust being identified as an important element of social capital (Durlauf, 1999). They highlight that the studies of social capital often do not take cognisance of its context-specific nature, which is important in drawing more specific and detailed outcomes (Foley and Edwards, 1999; Kay, 2006). They point out that norms, which are identified as an important element of social capital, can be used to accomplish plans that are destructive to society by deviant people (Middleton et al., 2005; Sobel, 2002).

While acknowledging the validity of some of the views of the critics of social capital, this study emphasises that it remains a useful framework for analysis based on its multiple advantages. Like any other framework, social capital has weaknesses. Many scholars, such as Field (2003), Fukuyama (1995), Potapchuk et al. (1997), Lin (2001) and Putnam et al. (1993) have illustrated that the advantages of social capital far outweigh its weaknesses.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **The Land Question in Zimbabwe, 1890-1979**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a background to the land question in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1979. The land question is the problem of inequitable ownership of land where the minority white settler capitalist farmers owned the largest pieces of prime land, while the majority black Zimbabweans were relegated to poor, infertile and insufficient land (Tshuma, 1995). This distribution was a result of the colonisation of Zimbabwe by the British settler government (Tshuma, 1995). The chapter pays attention to two important phases. First, the dispossession of Africans of their land after colonial penetration in the 1890s, and the resultant altering of land relations in Zimbabwe (Moyana, 1984; Arrighi, 1970; Palmer, 1990). This led to the establishment of war veteran-led social networks that would later be responsible for initiating the FTLRP in 2000. Second, the slow pace of land reform in Zimbabwe after independence in 1980 to 1999 due to Lancaster House Constitution restrictions, where Zimbabwe and Britain agreed that, for the first decade of independence (1980-1990), land earmarked for redistribution would be purchased from white farmers on a willing-seller willing-buyer basis (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Mumbengegwi, 1986). This further sustained the inequitable distribution of land (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Sachikonye, 2012). The chapter argues that FTLRP was a consequence of an unresolved land question dating as far back as the 1890s during the colonial period. It is within this historical context that the analysis of social capital and its contribution towards the benefits of land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with the period from 1890 to 1979, and briefly discusses colonial penetration in Zimbabwe and land expropriation from Africans by the British South Africa (BSA) Company. It provides detail on the effect of the Company's policies in altering land relations in Zimbabwe. It shows that, in the late 1890s, Africans enjoyed agricultural prosperity through a combination of access to land and sale of labour (Palmer, 1977a; Arrighi, 1970; Tshuma, 1995). Capitalist agriculture emerged after 1904 through political measures meant to curb competition with Africans and relegate them to cheap labour while simultaneously elevating capitalist agriculture (Arrighi, 1970; Palmer, 1990; Riddell, 1978). The section shows that these measures were continuously used in the various phases discussed here, with the effect of maintaining the hegemony of capitalist agriculture and impoverishing Africans. These phases are; the BSA Company phase between

1905 and 1922, the responsible government phase between 1923 and 1965, and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) phase between 1965 and 1979. The inequitable distribution of land, which resulted in most Africans living in infertile, overcrowded land, led to the emergence and consolidation of war veteran networks responsible for the liberation struggle with the main aim of addressing the land question. Thus, land reform at independence was inevitable.

The second section, which covers the period between 1980 and 1999, provides detail on the land reform initiated by the Zimbabwean government after independence in 1980 (Moyo, 1995; Alexander, 2006). It discusses the government's maintenance of the bimodal agrarian structure in which a small percentage of white farmers owned a large portion of the country's fertile land while most black Zimbabweans were overcrowded in infertile communal areas (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Mumbengegwi, 1986). This followed the Lancaster House restrictions where Zimbabwe and Britain agreed that, from independence in 1980, land earmarked for redistribution would be purchased on a willing-seller willing-buyer basis (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Mumbengegwi, 1986). The section also covers the slow pace of land reform. Most of the land acquisition and redistribution during this period occurred during the early to mid-1980s (Moyo, 1995). This slowed down by the late 1980s. There was a further delay in land reform in the 1990s, during which very little land was redistributed nationally (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009). The fact that land reform did not deliver on its planned targets in the first two decades of independence shows that the land question remained largely unresolved. This was further evidenced by the continuation of illegal squatting on land, which began at independence in 1980. War veteran networks led unsuccessful nationwide land occupations in 1998 showing the discontent of the general population with the slow pace of land reform. The economic and political context of the late 1990s in which the FTLRP would later emerge is briefly discussed in this section.

### **3.1.1 Brief background on Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country which is "390 000 square kilometres" in size (Moyo et al., 1993:303). The country has five broad natural agro ecological regions. Region 1 is on the Eastern Highlands and receives between "900mm to 1500mm of annual rainfall" (Weiner, 1988:66). Agricultural production in this region includes the growth of crops such as "tea, coffee, fruit, forest crops and intensive livestock production" (Weiner, 1988:66). Region 2, which receives between "750-1000mm of rain per year is also suitable for intensive farming"

(Weiner, 1988:66). This region is suitable for crops like “maize, tobacco, winter wheat, cotton and vegetables” (Moyo et al., 1993:306), as well as “intensive livestock production” (Weiner, 1988:66). Regions 1 and 2 are the most productive regions of the country because of high levels of rainfall and fertile soils.

Region 3 is most conducive for “semi-intensive crop and livestock production” and receives 650-800mm of annual rainfall (Weiner, 1988:66). Crops that can resist drought conditions such as “soya beans and sorghum” thrive in such climatic conditions (Moyo et al., 1993:306). Region 4 is much drier, receiving “between 450-650mm of rainfall per year” and well suited for the production of those crops that can withstand drought conditions as well as “semi intensive livestock production” (Weiner, 1988:66). Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located within this region. Region 5 is a very hot region, “receiving less than 450mm of annual rainfall” with extensive livestock production being the most suitable activity (Moyo et al., 1993:306). Regions 4 and 5 are the driest regions of the country.

### **3.1.2 Land relations before colonialism**

Moyana (1984) discusses land relations in Zimbabwe before colonialism. He explains that, through the traditional customary land tenure system, individuals did not have any land rights because land belonged to the community. This meant that rights to land could not be taken away from the people, transferred to or even sold because land “had no exchange value” (Moyana, 1984:13). The role of the king was to ensure that those who joined the community were allocated pieces of land, and that there was harmony and social cohesion in his kingdom (Moyana, 1984). Since people did not have any boundaries as to the amount of land they cultivated, because there was no shortage of land, they enjoyed its benefits. It is from this premise that Moyana (1984:13) explains that “land was never a cause of grievance between subjects and rulers,” meaning that Africans (the Ndebele and Shona) lived peacefully on the land.

### **3.1.3 Colonial penetration and the formation of Reserves**

Zimbabwe was colonised by the British South Africa Company between 1890 and 1923 in which the country was treated as business venture (Tshuma, 1995). The BSA Company gained access into the country through a Rudd Concession which was signed by King Lobengula of the Ndebele people in 1888 (Moyana, 1984). The process of colonisation was administered by the “Royal Charter granted by the British government” (Moyana, 1984:38).

The colonisation of Zimbabwe was mainly driven by the expectation that the company would also discover rich gold deposits such as those in Witwatersrand, in the neighbouring country of South Africa, popularly known as the “Gold Rand” (Phimister, 1988:4; Tshuma, 1995:39; Palmer, 1977a:25). This explains the Company’s main focus on mining, and not agriculture, during the first years of invasion (Phimister, 1988). It took three years after the invasion of Mashonaland in 1890 for the Company to realise that there were no rich deposits of gold in that region (Tshuma, 1995). The Company later discovered that even Matabeleland, which had been militarily invaded in 1893, did not have the rich gold deposits as initially expected (Tshuma, 1995).

The other objective of the Company had been to dispossess local Africans of their land since “the Charter gave the Company the power to make land grants” (Tshuma, 1995:41). This is despite the fact that the main agenda of colonial invasion was to pursue gold mining. Those recruited by the Company to invade Zimbabwe were to be rewarded with large pieces of land and gold claims (Palmer, 1977a; Moyana, 1984). Those who were sent to Mashonaland would be given “1,500 morgen (3,175 acres) of land and 15 reef of gold claims” (Palmer, 1977a:26). Those directed to Matabeleland would be rewarded with “3000 morgen (6000 acres) of land” (Moyana, 1984:39). While these pioneer settlers were given land without any payment, this later changed when invaders had to buy their land to access freehold titles (Mosley, 1983).

After settler invasion of Matabeleland in 1893, the Matebele Order in Council led to the establishment of a Land Commission with the main objective of addressing all the problems of land settlement for those Africans living in Matabeleland (Moyana, 1984; Tshuma, 1995). The Land Commission’s main responsibility was to provide adequate land for both agricultural and livestock production to the Ndebele people (Tshuma, 1995). This objective raises an expectation that the Commission would have fairly distributed land among the Ndebele such that they would enjoy its benefits. However, the selection of two very dry parts of land in Gwai and Shangani (known as Reserves) for settling the Ndebele people proved that the Commission intended to deprive them of their livelihood which had, in the previous years, been derived from the land (Phimister, 1988; Tshuma, 1995). The fact that those who resisted moving to Reserves were “subjected to high rental charges” shows that indeed the intention was to frustrate Africans (Moyana, 1984:40).



The Land Commission had been mandated to give equal rights of land to Ndebele people as with settlers but in practice this was not the case (Tshuma, 1995), and this is detailed below:

The Order in Council provided that Africans could acquire, encumber, and dispose of land on the same terms as non-Africans. It retained the right of individual Africans to buy, hold and dispose of land as Europeans (section 83) (Tshuma, 1995:41-42)

This decision to withhold land rights for Africans as well as the creation of Reserves points to the inequitable distribution of land and land rights, a problem which was already growing and disturbing the peaceful land relations that Africans enjoyed before colonial penetration.

This led to the Shona and Ndebele uprisings of 1896-7 (Phimister, 1988; Palmer, 1977a). One of the scholars describes the uprisings as “the most violent, sustained and highly organised form of resistance to colonial rule anywhere in Africa” (Palmer, 1977a:55). The Ndebele revolted in March 1896 while the Shona uprising was in June of the same year (Palmer, 1977a). These will not be discussed here due to the limited scope of this chapter. However, the uprisings provide evidence of Africans using their social capital to tackle common problems. The dispossession of the best land suitable for generating livelihoods was, in this case, the collective challenge faced by Africans (Moyana, 1984). In order to subdue the uprisings and hinder their future recurrence, Reserves were created in the whole country (Palmer, 1977a; Riddell, 1978).

Land earmarked for Reserves was the least favourable, mostly the Middle and Lowveld parts of the country with dry agro ecological conditions (Moyana, 1984). Reserves were originally intended to be a temporary measure meant to “supervise Africans and prevent further uprisings” (Riddell, 1978:7). It was expected that the Reserves would eventually disappear due to the development of the capitalist monetary economy which would then swallow the Africans (Palmer, 1977a), but they later became a consistent supply of cheap labour (Riddell, 1978) and this will be discussed later in this chapter.

Tshuma (1995) sums up the legal authority of the Company over land and land rights in Zimbabwe. The Rhodesia Order in Council gave the Company ownership and total control of land whose ownership had not yet been transferred to settlers. The Company also owned land that had been allocated to Africans, which also fell under the category of “unalienated” land

(Tshuma, 1995:42). The Company's authority over land occupied by Africans is further explained:

As the owner of the land, the Company was enjoined to assign land, from time to time, which was for the occupation (not ownership) of Africans. The Company therefore became the landlord and Africans became mere occupants (Tshuma, 1995:42).

This reality is in sharp contrast with Africans' land relations before colonialism, where there was no limit to the amount of land they utilised for creating livelihoods and lived peacefully on the land (Moyana, 1984). Colonial penetration therefore introduced the sale or transference of land which previously did not exist (Moyana, 1984). Judging from the Company's dominion over land, it is not surprising that almost all the land, about three quarters of the country, had already been forcefully taken from Africans by 1902 (Moyana, 1984). However, many of these Africans remained on European settlers' land even after land expropriation, where they were expected to rent the land and provide labour (Arrighi, 1970; Moyana, 1984).

### **3.2 Agriculture under the BSA Company rule (1890-1923)**

The Company had no policy on capitalist agriculture since its main focus had been on gold mining (Tshuma, 1995; Palmer, 1977a). Before colonial penetration, Africans (Shona and Ndebele) had been surviving on agriculture. While the Shona specialised in growing crops and cattle rearing, the Ndebele were pastoralists, even though they, like the Shona, also practiced the growing of various crops for a living (Palmer, 1977b:223-224).

#### **3.2.1 African prosperity of the 1890s**

The mining sector, which was the main focus of the European settlers, provided lucrative business for Africans whose main focus was on agricultural production (Phimister, 1977). During this period, capitalist agriculture was not yet established, as noted earlier. The mines therefore purchased agricultural produce from Africans to cater for the subsistence of mineworkers (Palmer, 1977b). This led to the establishment of a marketing structure through which agricultural produce was sold at lucrative prices (Riddell, 1978). African agricultural production levels were very high because they still resided in fertile parts of the country belonging to European settlers, even though they had already been dispossessed of the land (Arrighi, 1970; Moyana, 1984). This land was close to the railway line which they used to transport their produce to intended markets (Palmer, 1977b). Africans sold various produce,

such as “grain, vegetables, wheat, groundnuts tobacco, cattle and beer,” and also provided transport to the mines using their bulls (Arrighi, 1970:201). It is evident that during this phase, Africans continued to enjoy the benefits of land.

The percentage of Africans providing labour to European settler establishments during this period was very low because they did not rely on wages for a living (Arrighi, 1970). Agricultural production for the mining sector, through which they were highly paid, was their main livelihood (Arrighi, 1970). Any efforts by European settlers to channel Africans into forced labour were therefore unfruitful and thus abandoned (Palmer, 1977b; Ndlela, 1981:105). The introduction of taxes on Africans to push them towards forced labour was also unsuccessful, since they could afford to pay these taxes through funds acquired from the sale of agricultural produce to mines (Ndlela, 1981; Palmer, 1977a).

### **3.2.2 The rise of capitalist agriculture**

Capitalist agriculture only started rising up in 1905 (Palmer, 1977a). Its growth had previously been limited (Arrighi, 1970). It had been previously impeded by the fact that there was no adequate cheap labour and adequate finances to establish it (Arrighi, 1970). The settler government therefore used its political power to advance the development of capitalist agriculture, which had not been very productive for a long period (Arrighi, 1970). The main aim of these political measures was to restrain African agricultural production and competition, which had been prosperous, and to ensure that more Africans provided cheap labour for the growth of capitalist agriculture (Riddell, 1978:6; Arrighi, 1970:211; Phimister, 1988:64).

Palmer (1977b:231-232) describes a few of the many steps adopted by the Company to elevate capitalist agriculture. First, a Land Settlement Committee was established in 1905. Second, a policy on white capitalist agriculture mandated to establish an Estates Department responsible for managing settlement deals was passed in 1908. Third, the Department of Agriculture, which provided extension services to white farmers, was also established in 1908. Fourth, white farmers enjoyed credit facilities provided by a Land Bank which was opened in 1912 (Palmer, 1977b:231-232). While capitalist agriculture enjoyed services provided by these political measures, very little funds were allocated towards developing African agriculture (Arrighi, 1970). In fact, the BSA Company intentionally tightened the conditions for African agricultural production. For example, all Africans living on land

belonging to the Company, whose ownership had not been transferred to anyone (unalienated land) were forced to pay rent effective from 1909 and this had negative implications (Arrighi, 1970). This meant that all Africans living outside Reserves paid high rental and service charges and were forced to provide labour, which eased up the problem of shortage of labour for capitalist agriculture (Arrighi, 1970).

According to Arrighi (1970), these changes in the conditions of Africans living on European land led to a countrywide exodus of Africans to Reserves and inevitably a large decrease in their agricultural production (Arrighi, 1970). He notes that “the proportion of the African population residing on Reserves rose from 54 per cent in 1909 to 59 per cent in 1914 and 64 per cent in 1922” (Arrighi, 1970:213). The levels of African agricultural production were further reduced by infertile land in the Reserves (Arrighi, 1970). Their ability to market agricultural produce was further hampered by the geographical location of the Reserves, which were far away from the railway line and their established markets (Arrighi, 1970). Consequently, Africans were incapacitated to compete in the market. These conditions saw the rise of capitalist agriculture, which now depended on cheap labour provided by Africans (Arrighi, 1970).

Riddell (1978:2) explains the fate of the once very prosperous African farmers during this period. Since they had been forced off fertile land belonging to Europeans, their agricultural output was inadequate for the subsistence of their families due to infertility of land and dry agro-ecological conditions (Riddell, 1978). In attempting to address this challenge, one member of the family would seek employment in the settler economy where they earned very low wages inadequate to fully supply their family (Riddell, 1978). Thus, the overall subsistence needs of a typical African family were a combination of very little wages and low agricultural produce from the Reserves (Riddell, 1978). At this stage, Africans were no longer enjoying the benefits of land.

### **3.3 Agriculture under the responsible government: 1923-1964**

Zimbabwe was granted responsible government status in 1923 and this marked the end of the BSA Company's rule (Palmer, 1977a). In this new dispensation, political power was shifted from Britain and transferred to the white settlers living in Zimbabwe (Palmer, 1977a). However, this did not mean that Britain lost all control, as explained by Tshuma (1995):

[T]he colony was formally annexed by Britain...in terms of the Letters Patent, the British government enjoyed extensive powers of control through, *inter alia*, reserved clauses which allowed it to control activities of the Southern Rhodesian [Zimbabwe] legislature (Tshuma, 1995:50).

By this time, capitalist agriculture was already expanding rapidly since the massive exodus of Africans to Reserves meant that more cheap labour became available (Palmer, 1977a). The period of the responsible government further elevated capitalist agriculture to an extent that it largely became the backbone of the Zimbabwean economy (Palmer, 1977a). This meant that white farmers became even more advanced and established while Africans, who were no longer prosperous, suffered the drastic effects of living on infertile land in the Reserves.

The new government engaged more drastic political measures to maintain the hegemony of capitalist agriculture while simultaneously impoverishing Africans. The Land Apportionment Act was passed in 1930 resulting from mounting pressure from European settlers to further destroy African agriculture and entrench themselves economically (Palmer, 1977a). The main agenda of the Act, which clearly portrays “segregation of land ownership” between white settlers and Africans (Palmer, 1977a:132), is described below:

The Land Apportionment Act had, thus, allocated over 50 per cent of the total land area to the whites (3 percent of the population) and only 30 per cent to the blacks (97 per cent) (Ndlela, 1981:77).

The above quotation portrays the unequal distribution of land between Africans and white settlers which is the land question of Zimbabwe. The Land Apportionment Act made a provision for middle class black people to purchase their own land on Native Purchase Areas (NPA) (Phimister, 1988). Since this land was also part of land allocated for blacks, it was also poor and located within dry agro-ecological zones (Phimister, 1988). This means that, although these wealthy blacks had larger pieces of land in the NPAs, agricultural production was still very low.

The Land Apportionment Act was the most severe mechanism established by the responsible government. Its divisive nature in terms of land distribution was further worsened by the refusal for black people to own land in the settler white areas (Phimister, 1988; Tshuma, 1995). Other scholars highlight that the Act “formalised the dual agrarian structure which had started in the 1890s” (Rukuni, 2006:34). Thus, it marked the peak of the land question in Zimbabwe.

### **3.3.1 Impact of the Land Apportionment Act on capitalist agriculture**

The Land Apportionment Act had large benefits for capitalist agriculture. It provided the European capitalist farmers with an immediate pool of cheap labour (Arrighi, 1966; Moyana, 1984). The Act led to the movement of most Africans, “at least 50 000” in number living in settler-owned land to Reserves in the 1930s (Palmer, 1977b:242). These desperate Africans were forced to provide cheap labour to white settlers to supplement their livelihoods such that “by 1932, 80 per cent of African cash-earnings was derived” from cheap labour (Palmer, 1977b:243). Only those Africans who had agreements with white settlers to provide labour in exchange for occupancy on their land remained in European settlers’ land (Palmer, 1977b). This arrangement was permitted by the Act for the benefit of white settler farmers (Arrighi, 1966).

The racial segregation resulting from the Land Apportionment Act saw the emergence of various Acts to regulate the ‘marketing and production’ of crops with the aim of further strengthening capitalist agriculture (Tshuma, 1995; Phimister, 1988). The intention to totally destroy competition between white capitalist agriculture and African agriculture also informed these measures (Tshuma, 1995). Some of these Acts are described by Tshuma (1995) as:

...the Reserve Pool Act of 1934 which controlled the production of tobacco, and the Market Stabilisation Act of 1936, which established a Board to organise the compulsory sale of Tobacco (Tshuma, 1995:53).

Other Acts included the Maize Control Act of 1934 and its amended version which regulated the prices and sale of maize (Keyter, 1978; Phimister, 1988). More capital was channelled to the Land Bank to establish the hegemony of capitalist agriculture and dualism of the agrarian economy (Phimister, 1988). These are just a few of the multiple measures introduced by the responsible government after the Land Apportionment Act.

### **3.3.2 Impact of Land Apportionment Act on Africans**

The Land Apportionment Act had severe repercussions on Africans. This occurred through the deliberate transformation of once prosperous African farmers into a pool of cheap labour (Stoneman, 1981:130). Most of these Africans were forced to provide labour for capitalist white farmers and mines at very low wages (Ndlela and Robinson, 2007). Even though the Land Apportionment Act was revised on various occasions between 1940 and 1945, these amendments did not alleviate the situation of Africans (Moyana, 1984). Instead, “the

provisions were tightened with each amendment” to further frustrate Africans (Moyana, 1984:128). The response to these amendments by Africans is described:

... by 1945 more and more Africans were being evicted from the European areas and the already critical situation in Reserves deteriorated further with the arrival of new souls seeking a livelihood upon the exhausted land (Moyana, 1984:127-128).

The government introduced centralisation of agriculture in the Reserves, in which land was “divided into permanent arable and permanent grazing land” (Arrighi, 1966:41). This system worsened soil erosion and further decreased the capacity of land to produce crops (Arrighi, 1966). Other agricultural production related problems are elaborated:

The unproductivity of the land due to adverse ecological condition, and to the shortage of space for both cultivation and grazing which resulted in overcrowding and overstocking, were all factors which contributed to diminishing agricultural returns (Moyana, 1984:83).

Even though the settler government attempted to alleviate the situation in the Reserves through the “Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951” and other subsequent measures, these were unsuccessful because they did not deal with the root of the problem, that is, Africans’ dispossession of fertile land (Moyana, 1984:132). There is evidence of differentiation among Africans in the Reserves, which has been discussed in detail by Phimister (1988) and Tshuma (1995). This differentiation influenced the way different classes of Africans experienced the ruthlessness of capitalist agricultural policies. This means that the poorest classes suffered the most, while the wealthy Africans suffered less and were cushioned by their access to capital.

The drastic effects of the Land Apportionment Act on Africans and their agriculture are glaring. It is not surprising that these conditions led to the formation of social networks in the form of political parties, which later initiated the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. These political parties emerged across the country with the common goal of “removing the settler government” through fighting for the country’s independence (Moyana, 1984:127). The Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) was formed on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1961 under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo after the National Democratic Party (NDP) was banned by the settler regime (Kapungu, 1974; Dabengwa, 1995). The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed in 1963 after the split of ZAPU due to various tensions including ideological differences (Shamuyarira, 1966; Sithole, 1979). The restoration of land to the Africans was the major agenda of these political parties, which they promised to deliver after

achieving political independence (Moyana, 1984). These political parties are the networks of war veterans, which would later be responsible for the initiation of the FTLRP. They are a perfect example of social capital. As noted in Chapter Two, social networks are an asset because they facilitate development and encourage people to work for the benefit of the general society and assist in resolving problems of collective action (Coleman, 1990; Putnam et al., 1993).

### **3.4 Agriculture under the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) phase: 1965-1979**

After failed talks with Britain concerning majority rule by Africans, the settler government made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain in 1965 (Blake, 1977). This meant that Zimbabwe disconnected from the British government that still had some control over legislation, as noted by Tshuma (1995) earlier, to become an independent country. The declaration was followed by worldwide “trade and investment sanctions” (Ndlela and Robinson, 2007:2). More detail on the nature of these sanctions is provided:

Sanctions meant increasing difficulty in the procurement of imported inputs and consumer items, loss of easy access to foreign markets, and increasing political and economic isolation from the rest of the world (Mumbengegwi, 1986:204).

This obviously affected the economy of Zimbabwe, which was mainly based on agricultural exports. According to Mumbengegwi (1986), the production of tobacco suffered the most because the crop constituted a large percentage of exports to overseas markets.

In response to sanctions, the government designed policies that ensured minimal dependence on imports of agricultural produce (Mumbengegwi, 1986). The policies therefore sought to encourage the local production of those agricultural crops which were previously imported (Mumbengegwi, 1986). The policies also discouraged the growth of main export crops due to barriers for export created by sanctions (Mumbengegwi, 1986). This period saw a continuation of political measures to maintain the inequality between African and white capitalist agriculture established in the previous decades. By protecting capitalist white farmers from sanctions, these policies assisted them to adapt to political and economic changes effected by sanctions without necessarily losing their privileged status (Mumbengegwi, 1986).



One of the mechanisms adopted by the government was the establishment of the “agricultural diversification scheme,” whose main objective was to encourage white capitalist farmers to change their focus from tobacco production and grow other crops (Rukuni, 2006:46). Those who responded to the diversification agenda enjoyed government support in the form of affordable credit services (Mumbengegwi, 1986). The government provided favourable prices to those interested in growing specific crops, such as “maize, wheat, cotton, soya beans, and coffee” (Mumbengegwi, 1986:206). In order to support diversification plans, the government increased its involvement in the control the marketing of agricultural produce (Ndlela, 1981). An Agricultural Marketing Authority (AMA) was established in 1967 to control, *inter alia*, marketing boards and pricing policy matters, in which favourable taxes and credit facilities were provided to white capitalist farmers (Ndlela, 1981). As expected, African farmers did not benefit from these initiatives (Ndlela and Robinson, 2007). There are many other policies that were passed and implemented by the government to sustain the hegemonic status of capitalist farmers during this period that have not been discussed here.

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was abolished after several amendments that led to the introduction of the Land Tenure Act of 1969 (Ndlela, 1981; Tshuma, 1995). Land distribution under the Land Tenure Act is described:

An equal amount of land, approximately 46 per cent of the total land area in each case, was allocated to Africans and Europeans. However, since Africans were 96 per cent of the population, whereas the Europeans were only 4 per cent, this works out in theory at around 3 hectares for each black person, compared with 60 hectares for a white (Ndlela, 1981:78).

These figures illustrate that the changes made by the Land Tenure Act to the distribution of land were cosmetic and did not adequately address the unjust inequality between whites and Africans. Thus, the land question remained unaddressed. This is further confirmed by the eviction of more Africans that still remained on fertile white settler land in response to the Act (Mumbengegwi, 1986). Other cosmetic changes of the Act included the renaming of Reserves to Tribal Trust Lands (TTL) (Riddell, 1978). This had no benefit to Africans because most of the repressive clauses of the Land Apportionment Act were transferred to the Land Tenure Act (Ndlela, 1981).

The government abandoned agricultural diversification in 1975-76 on realisation that marketing boards which controlled the sale of agricultural produce were no longer profitable

(Thomson, 1988). However, agriculture remained a backbone of the economy even though it did not earn much profit through the export market in the 1970s in the face of sanctions (Rukuni, 2006)

#### **3.4.1 Impact of UDI on African agriculture**

The poverty of Africans escalated during this phase. The conditions of Africans in Tribal Trust Lands (TTL), such as overpopulation, overstocking and soil erosion, were worsened by the addition of Africans who were evicted from white settler land in response to the Land Tenure Act (Ndlela, 1981; Mumbengegwi, 1986). The dry agro-ecological environment and poor soils of the TTLs also contributed to the problem (Ndlela, 1981). This inevitably led to a continuation of the decline in Africans' agricultural production (Ndlela, 1981), which was already on a downward spiral because of the Land Apportionment Act. For example, there was a drop in the amount of agricultural produce sold by Africans in the market in the years of "1968, 1979, 1973, and 1976, due to crop failures attributed to adverse weather conditions" (Ndlela, 1981:201). This is in sharp contrast to white capitalist production which dominated the markets (Ndlela, 1981) and whose success resulted from using African labour which had been impoverished by their capitalist system. African households were differentiated and this affected their experience of the consequences of capitalist agricultural policies. However, the impact of these policies robbed most Africans of the benefits of land.

#### **3.4.2 The path to independence**

An analysis of the trajectory of the continual dispossession of Africans of their land and the use of state power to successively suppress their agricultural production while elevating capitalist agriculture shows that the land question remained unresolved. The once prosperous Africans had become the poorest sector of society. Riddell (1978) perfectly captures this problem in stating that "while the Reserves were overpopulated and the land was fast deteriorating, most of the European land remained underutilised." This unjust and unequal system of land ownership was therefore a collective problem that strengthened the desire for Africans to regain their lost land.

The land question therefore led to the struggle for liberation in the 1970s with the aim of returning the land to black majority Africans after political independence (Ndlela and Robinson, 2007). Thus, Africans were very optimistic that, after independence land would be equally redistributed. The nationalist movement, which coordinated the liberation struggle,

was in the form of social networks in the sense that Africans collaborated to tackle a common problem, that is, the land question. This shows the importance of social capital. As noted by Field (2003:12), “networks provide a basis for social cohesion because they enable people to cooperate with one another for their mutual advantage.” The fact that black Africans successfully attained political independence shows that indeed their social capital enabled them to attain a goal which would not have been successful had they not connected through social networks, as noted by Coleman (1990). However, whether or not they succeeded in regaining their previous position of freedom on the land will unfold later in this chapter. The networks of the liberation struggle fighters (war veterans) would later regroup to initiate land occupations, which led to the FTLRP in 2000. This is the subject of the next chapter. However, the rest of this chapter discusses land reform in Zimbabwe after independence, from 1980 to 1999.

### **3.5 The agrarian structure at independence and challenges**

Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 after the liberation struggle against the British settler colonial government. The government inherited a country whose “economic, industrial and mining interests” were exclusively owned and controlled by the white settlers (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:171). The settlers owned most of the productive land as noted earlier in the chapter, and this distribution of land is illustrated:

The white agrarian bourgeoisie, some 6000 farmers at independence, retained 39 per cent of the land, amounting to 15.5 million hectares of prime agro ecological farmland, while 1 million black households remained consigned to 41.4 per cent of the land, or 16.4 million hectares of marginal land (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:171)

The agrarian structure therefore consisted of a “Large Scale Commercial Farming (LSCF) sector of formally white areas and communal areas [previously Tribal Trust Lands]” where the majority of black people lived. This bimodal agrarian structure is a common feature of former settler colonies in Southern Africa, such as South Africa, where the majority indigenous people have very little control over land (Moyo, 2008).

Zimbabwe is an agro-based economy (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004). The country’s large commercial farming sector was largely a model for other African countries (Hawkins, 2004). The importance of agriculture in the economy of Zimbabwe is highlighted:

The contribution of agriculture and forestry to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fluctuated between 13% and 19% during the 1980s and 1990s, and contributed about 60% towards the economy's foreign exchange earnings (Economic Commission for Africa., 2002:113).

The large-scale commercial agriculture, which consisted of white farmers, employed about two thirds of the population between 1980 and 1990 (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). It contributed "60% of local agricultural output into local manufacturing while 20% was absorbed back into agriculture" (Economic Commission for Africa., 2002:113). It is through this successful agricultural sector that Zimbabwe was known as the breadbasket of Southern Africa. However, this success glossed over internal dynamics of the inequitable land distribution where the majority black people lived on marginal land after many decades of being impoverished by the colonial system.

During the Lancaster House Conference in 1979, where negotiations for independence between ZANU/ZAPU and the British government were conducted, the two parties agreed that the Zimbabwean government would acquire land through a "willing-seller willing-buyer" method where land would be purchased at market prices from 1980 to 1990 (Moyo, 1995). This was a "market-led and state aided approach to land reform" (Moyo, 1995:3) in the sense that, even though land was purchased through the market, the state played a key role of administering the redistribution of land. The market-led approach has a history of being unsuccessful in balancing the distribution of land since it favours large landowners (Banerjee, 1999).

The British government took the responsibility of funding the land reform process, which mainly included purchasing land from white farmers at market prices and providing necessary post-settlement support such as "the development of the necessary infrastructure" (Palmer, 1990:168). This included "roads, dipping tanks, schools and clinics" to be provided by relevant government ministries (Moyana, 1984:25). Twenty million Pounds was thus pledged by Britain in 1980 to cover these costs (Palmer, 1990:168). The Lancaster House agreement hindered the adoption of redistributive land reform, which would have immediately appeased the majority of land-hungry Zimbabweans overcrowded in communal areas.

### **3.5.1 First decade of land reform: 1980-1989**

At independence in 1980, the government started a land reform programme to address the inequitable distribution of land inherited from the colonial period. The programme meant to benefit firstly those dislodged by the liberation struggle (Moyo, 1995). These also included refugees who were scattered in the country (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009:141). Secondly, the “landless, poor, unemployed and destitute” (Moyo, 1995) were to benefit. Most of the landless people were living in communal areas where population pressure was very high, and others could not sustain themselves because of lack of access to adequate land (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009). These objectives resonate with the view that alleviation of poverty is one of the main motivations for land reform (Griffin et al., 2002).

The land reform programme’s initial target was to resettle about “18 000 families in about 1.5 million hectares of land” over a period of five years (Moyo, 1995:118). These figures were adjusted in 1982, with the new target being “35 000 households, and in 1983, to 165, 000 people on 5 million hectares” (Moyo, 1995:118). The rate of the redistribution of land would be determined by the pace of land acquisition from white farmers who still owned most of the prime land. This would also determine the achievement of these targets.

The land policy of the early 1980s reflected a quandary faced by the government, in which focus was on addressing opposing needs of white farmers and majority of poor black people (Mumbengegwi, 1986). This emanated from the Lancaster House restrictions. On the one hand, it sought to maintain the hegemonic status of the white farmers while making very few changes to address “the racial division of land” (Mumbengegwi, 1986:210). This was common in the settler colonies of Southern Africa who feared that stripping the whites of their land would lead to “economic collapse” (Moyo, 2005:18). On the other hand, the government needed to satisfy the needs of the majority black poor people whose involvement in the liberation struggle was driven by the need to repossess their land which they had lost to the whites during the colonial period (Mumbengegwi, 1986). This dilemma would later influence the slow pace of land reform thus dampening the optimism of the land hungry majority.

Bratton (1994) sums up debates for and against land redistribution in the 1980s. The critics of land redistribution argued that cutting down white commercial farmers’ land would lower national production and reduce export income (Bratton, 1994). In accounting for unutilised

land, they argued that much of it was being used for crop production while the rest was reserved for national beef production for export (Bratton, 1994). Scholars who supported land reform acknowledged the importance of the large-scale white farmers' contribution to national agricultural production. However, they argued that the total area of underutilised land, which was approximately "2 million hectares nationwide," could be resettled to communal farmers without altering the contribution of white large-scale farming to national production and export activities (Bratton, 1994:73).

The government also made efforts to uplift the status of communal farmers who had been largely excluded in agricultural policies that benefited white capitalist farmers during the colonial period (Bratton, 1994; Rukuni, 2006). An Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) was established to provide credit to finance various agricultural activities of communal farmers (Rukuni, 2006). The government also improved prices of the sale of agricultural produce (Rukuni, 2006). This intervention resulted in the rise in agricultural production, especially food crops, and people from the communal areas also participated in the export market, focusing mainly on maize and cotton (Bratton, 1994; Rukuni, 2006). However, this initiative was not sustainable, only lasting for five years (1980-1985), due to various financial and other challenges leading to "a decline in production after 1985" (Rukuni, 2006:50).

### **3.5.2 Resettlement models**

The land reform was implemented in four different models. Model A allocated each beneficiary a residential plot, an arable plot and shared communal grazing (Moyo, 1995). The size of grazing land was "between 20 and 200 hectares per household" and differed across the country due to different agro-ecological conditions (Weiner, 1988). In the 1980s, most of the people were resettled under this model (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). The structure of Model A resembles the A1 villagised crop-based model of the FTLRP which is the focus of this study, and will be discussed in the next chapter. Model B organised beneficiaries into a collective who shared arable land and infrastructure and shared profits accumulated from the sale of agricultural produce (Moyo, 1995). Model C allocated individual plots pegged around a state-owned estate, the Agriculture Development Authority (ADA) (Moyo, 1995). The beneficiaries, who were required to produce similar crops to the estate, benefited from various services and incentives provided by the estate, such as "research, training, credit, input supply and marketing services" (Moyo, 1995:87). Model D was a livestock-oriented model suitable for drier regions of the country, such as Matabeleland Provinces. Focus of the

model was mainly on providing grazing land for its beneficiaries “on a rotational basis” (Bratton, 1994:75).

### **3.5.3 Pace of land reform**

The pace of land reform during the first five years of independence (1980-1985) was very fast because of the rapid pace of acquiring land through the willing-seller willing-buyer market approach (Moyo and Yeros, 2005). Some of the land available for redistribution was deserted by whites during the liberation struggle (Palmer, 1990). However, most of the land redistributed was “marginal land within the least productive agro ecological zones” of the country with only about 19 per cent productive land purchased from white farmers (Moyo, 1995:121). White farmers retained most of the prime land and only sold the less productive parts of their land in response to rising land prices (Palmer, 1990). About “2 200 000 hectares at 430 000 hectares per year” were redistributed to Zimbabweans during this period (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:183).

The desperation for land by Zimbabweans manifested in the form of squatting on parts of land, which motivated the government to purchase land to redistribute to squatters (Moyo and Yeros, 2005). Squatters targeted land that was deserted by owners or those large-scale farms where owners were reluctant to sell portions of their land for redistribution (Moyo, 1995). In some cases, squatting was not successful, especially where the government responded by evicting squatters from white commercial farms (Moyo, 1995). This squatting on land clearly indicates that the land question was not adequately addressed at independence even through the land reform programme.

The pace of land redistribution slowed down after 1985 because many white farmers were no longer selling their land, thus very little land was acquired by the state (Moyo and Yeros, 2005). From 1985 to 1992, “only 75 000 hectares of land were purchased per year” for redistribution (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:183). This slow pace of land acquisition was a disadvantage of the willing-seller willing-buyer approach that depends on the willingness of the landowners to sell their land (Banerjee, 1999). After 1985, the government set up committees to evict those people who squatted on white commercial farms to solicit the redistribution of land (Moyo, 2004). This again shows that the government was incapable of fully addressing the land question thus suppressing the squatter activity during this phase.

#### **3.5.4 Land reform in Matabeleland**

Land reform in Matabeleland was disrupted by various factors from 1980 to 1990. Very little land was redistributed during this period because, unlike other parts of the country, very little land was deserted by white farmers during the war (Alexander, 1991). The squatting method adopted by people in other parts of the country to solicit for resettlement by the government was not common because people in Matabeleland generally resisted the models of redistribution (Alexander, 1991). Those with cattle preferred a model that would provide more grazing land for the use of those in communal areas rather than a model that resettled them elsewhere (Alexander, 1991). The Matabeleland Provinces lie within the fairly dry agro-ecological regions 4 and 5 most suitable for livestock production, discussed in section 3.1.1 of this chapter (Weiner, 1988).

Post-independence violence and conflict in Matabeleland contributed to the slowing down of the pace of land reform (Alexander, 1991). In the first years of independence, ZANU PF deployed a military wing to attack people in Matabeleland because of the region's strong support for the opposition ZAPU political party (Alexander, 1991). More details on this conflict are discussed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) and Alexander et al. (2000). Due to this history, people in Matabeleland Provinces were not part of the successful communal farmers who participated in the export market in the first five years of independence with the support of the government (Alexander, 1991). Instead, the region experienced severe droughts in the 1980s which limited the capacity of people to produce (Alexander, 1991). Matabeleland South Province for instance, had the largest percentage of unsettled land by 1990 due to this political unrest (Moyo, 1995). It is the political context of Matabeleland Provinces (North and South) during the 1980s that resulted in a unique experience of land reform.

#### **3.5.5 Failure of the government to reach land reform targets**

The government failed to deliver its targets for land reform in the first decade of independence. Between 1980 and 1989, it achieved only 32 per cent of the resettlement target set in the early 1980s (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009). Only about "52 000 families had been resettled on 2.8 million hectares of land" after the first decade of independence (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009:143). The remaining 68 per cent of the official target remained unsettled (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009). This means that the adverse conditions in the communal areas remained largely unaddressed, with overpopulation being one of the main problems (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009). The hegemony of white



farmers, which was established during the colonial period, remained intact and their commercial sector continued to thrive since they controlled most of the prime land (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009).

Most scholars blame the Lancaster House agreement for the failure of the government to reach its targets for redistribution of land. Stoneman and Cliffe (1989:33) explain that the agreement “made it expensive to redistribute land, industrial properties and resources to the people” because it secured the property rights of white farmers. Moyo (2011a) and Palmer (1990) concur that prices of land rose dramatically, therefore making it difficult to purchase more land for redistribution to Zimbabweans. Moyo (1995) adds that the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar contributed to this problem. This was worsened by limited commitment from the British government to adequately finance the land reform process as promised (Cliffe, 2000). This progress was disappointing. The fact that prime land remained in the hands of white farmers after ten years of independence proves that the land question was not resolved. The inevitability of the FTLRP under these circumstances was not to be underestimated.

### **3.6 The second decade of land reform: 1990-1999**

The government passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1992. The Act authorised the “compulsory acquisition” of land with the promise to compensate white large landowners (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:185). This is known as the redistributive type of land reform. Its main aim is ensuring that the poor and landless people access land to create their livelihoods (Byres, 2004), see Chapter One section 1.2.3. The government did not legally end the market-based approach to land reform after passing the Land Acquisition Act. This meant that it still remained intact as long as compulsory acquisition of land had not commenced (Moyo and Yeros, 2005).

The Land Acquisition Act was passed after the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), which would later contribute to the economic crisis of Zimbabwe (Chakaodza, 1993). Structural adjustment programmes are “macro and micro economic reforms aimed at producing more efficient resource use and higher rates of economic growth” (Summers and Pritchett, 1993:383). These economic reforms are usually sponsored by international financial institutions with a set of conditions to be followed by recipient governments (Chakaodza, 1993).

The pace at which government purchased land from white landowners through the market was still slow during this period (Sachikonye, 2012). On average, the government acquired “790 000 hectares of land at the pace of 158,000 hectares per year between 1992 and 1997” (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:184). There was a shortfall in the percentage of households which were supposed to be allocated land for the government to accomplish its targets (Sachikonye, 2012). Various scholars provide explanations for the slow pace of land reform during this phase. Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe (2009) note that, even though some white farmers had offered their land for sale to the government, they reversed these offers through the law courts in response to the Land Acquisition Act. Sachikonye (2012) adds that the political zeal for land in the 1990s was dampened by the fact that land redistribution in the early years of independence had been seen by some, as successful. Moyo and Yeros (2005) argue that the land reform agenda was suppressed by the structural adjustment programme.

This period saw a shift of focus from redistributing land to poor people. Most land was allocated to the middle class and those with capital to finance agricultural production and investment on the land (Moyo, 2001). The government therefore neglected the very ‘poor and landless’ people in communal areas (Sachikonye, 2012). These could not extricate themselves from the harsh conditions of communal areas. This is contrary to the major objectives of land reform discussed earlier. Instead, a leasing scheme of acquired land was established, which also benefited mostly senior government officials and military leaders, *inter alia* (Sachikonye, 2012).

The government largely failed to deliver its targets for redistribution of land to the poor people during this phase. This is illustrated:

From 1980 to 1997, the land redistribution programme in Zimbabwe transferred 3.5 million hectares to about 71 000 beneficiaries, 93 percent of whom were resettled through Model A (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009:149).

Judging from these figures, the government indeed failed to address the plight of many landless and poor people living in communal areas through the land reform programme. (Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe, 2009) The programme was also stalled from 1998 and 1999 (Moyo, 2001). The continuation of squatting or illegal land occupations into the 1990s confirms the failure of the land reform programme. While in the early 1980s, landless people squatted mainly on white-owned land, this problem spilled over to other areas, where

squatters became visible in “resettlement areas, urban areas, state land and communal areas” (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:185). This shows that landlessness remained a big problem.

### **3.7 Outcomes of land reform: 1980-1990**

The outcomes of land reform in the 1980s to the 1990s are contested. Critics of the programme point to its failure to accomplish its targets of land redistribution as a major setback (Kinsey, 2004). Others queried the transparency in the selection of beneficiaries for the redistribution of land, while women were largely excluded (Moyo, 1995). The failure of the land reform to translate to high output in agricultural production and “rural incomes” is also seen as a negative outcome of the programme (Kinsey, 2004: 1672). This implies that the programme did not uplift the livelihoods of beneficiaries through agricultural production.

Moyo (1995) sums up some of the main problems of land reform. While admitting that the programme had benefits to those who acquired land, he highlights that beneficiaries would have been more productive if the government had provided adequate post-settlement support (Moyo, 1995). This is in consideration of the low socio-economic status of targeted beneficiaries such as the “poor and displaced” (Moyo, 1995:280). These groups did not have the capacity to finance production activities. Insecurity of tenure was another problem since land was owned and controlled by the government (Moyo, 1995). The programme benefited a small percentage of people living in communal areas, “less than 8 per cent” (Moyo, 1995:279). Yet these are the people who suffered dispossession of land by the white settlers during the colonial period and lived in harsh conditions of overcrowding on largely infertile land. This problem is worsened by the fact that most of the land belonging to commercial white farmers remained “underutilised” (Moyo, 1995:279).

Other scholars, who supported land reform, highlighted its major benefits. According to Kinsey (1999:194), beneficiaries had much higher agricultural production levels since they had larger pieces of arable plots than those in communal areas and earned more income from the land. He stresses that “over time, resettled households increased their incomes, and also reduced income variability, while at the same time accumulating considerable wealth in the form of cattle” (Kinsey, 1999:194). These outcomes confirm the view of Bratton (1994:77), who states that “in years of good rainfall, the average maize yield in Model A resettled areas surpassed two metric tonnes per hectare, an increase of more than 50 per cent over yields in communal areas”. Sachikonye (2012) also concurs that access to land saw a rise in levels of

agricultural production in resettled areas. This implies that those who acquired land enjoyed its benefits.

The fact that only a small percentage of people were experiencing these benefits, while the majority lived in overcrowded and infertile communal areas, shows that the inequitable distribution of land in the country had not been adequately addressed. Land reform had failed to appease the majority poor people who were optimistic about land being restored to them after the attainment of political independence.

### **3.8 Political and economic context leading to FTLRP in the 1990s**

This section briefly discusses the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe in the 1990s, which set the scene for FTLRP. Failure of the structural adjustment programme left Zimbabwe in a serious economic crisis, which is well documented in literature (Chakaodza, 1993; Bond and Manyanya, 2002). The crisis increased levels of poverty amongst the people and inevitably added pressure for more land to be redistributed by the government (Moyo, 2004).

The Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWA) was established in 1989 (Sadomba, 2013). War veterans, through the association, waged “various episodes of rebellion against the state during the 1990s” (Sadomba, 2013:81), due to the general dissatisfaction with the land question, political and economic crises. The association of war veterans is an example of a social networks of people with shared goals and problems (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990). These networks are a clear example of the advantage of social capital, which would later be instrumental in initiating the FTLRP.

One of the notable successes of the war-veteran networks was the response of the government to their demand to be compensated for their participation in the liberation struggle (Moyo and Yeros, 2005). In 1997, the government compensated war veterans with previously unbudgeted monetary lump sums and this further deepened the economic crisis (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004; Bond and Manyanya, 2002). In response to multiple demands of war veterans, the government further promised to “designate 1,470 white commercial farms, 20% of which would be set aside for war veterans” (Moyo and Yeros, 2005:187). In the same year, following pressure from war veterans, the government designated 1,471 farms for

appropriation in 1997, leading to failed negotiations with the UK in 1988 (Moyo, 2004; Moyo and Yeros, 2005).

In 1998, war veteran networks led nationwide occupations of land belonging to white farmers (Moyo and Yeros, 2005). This was a culmination of illegal land occupations, (known as squatting), which had started since independence in 1980 (Marongwe, 2003; Moyo and Yeros, 2005). The war veteran-led networks involved all classes of people, such as “ruling party politicians, traditional leaders and displaced workers” (Moyo and Yeros, 2005). This proves that the inequitable distribution of land was a nationwide problem that affected all classes of people. Only those farms designated by the government in 1997 were invaded (Sadomba, 2013). Landowners legally challenged the occupations, rendering them unsuccessful (Moyo, 2004; Sadomba, 2013). In other words, the occupations were thus unable to convince the government to compulsorily acquire land from white farmers for redistribution to the poor majority and landless Zimbabweans.

The government’s involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) war in 1998 was another decision that further deepened the economic crisis. Whilst the country was already experiencing shortages in foreign currency, the government spent millions of dollars in supporting the war (Bond and Manyanya, 2002). In describing the drastic effects of this decision, some scholars argue that it “broke the spine of the Zimbabwean economy” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2006:28). During this period, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) opposition party was formed in 1999 after the merger of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004). MDC became a serious threat for the ruling government because it challenged its legitimacy by questioning the levels of democracy in the country (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004). This is also the season of the government’s failure to address the inequitable distribution of land as well as the economic crisis that emanated from ESAP (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004). It is within such a political and economic climate that the FTLRP emerged. This is the subject of the next chapter.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the land question in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1999. It argued that FTLRP is a consequence of unequal access to land that dates to colonial penetration in the 1890s. The chapter discussed two phases of land relations in the country. Firstly, it covered

developments related to land in the colonial period, from 1890 to 1979. This included a discussion of the effects of land dispossession from Africans. It also covered the political measures adopted by the colonial government to establish and maintain the hegemony of capitalist agriculture while simultaneously impoverishing Africans in different periods. These are the BSA Company period between 1905 and 1922, the responsible government period between 1923 and 1965, and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) period between 1965 and 1979. The consolidation of social networks of the liberation movement and the resultant struggle for independence showed the extent of the discontent of Africans because of the inequitable land distribution. Under such conditions, land reform after independence became inevitable.

The second phase discussed was land reform in Zimbabwe after independence, from 1980 to 1999. The chapter illustrated the slow pace of land reform, due Lancaster House constraints. These maintained the inequitable distribution of land under which white farmers remained in the prime land while most Zimbabweans were crowded into communal areas. It discussed the government's failure to reach its land redistribution targets during the first decade of independence. The second decade of independence (1990-1999) was also marked by delays in land reform due to slow land acquisition. Illegal occupations on land known as squatting, began at independence and continued until the end of the 1990s. This indicates the lack of progress with land reform. Nationwide land occupations of 1998, largely steered by war veterans, depicted the peak of the discontent of the people about the inequitable land distribution in Zimbabwe and were important in what would later become FTLRP in 2000. Even though the occupations were unsuccessful, they displayed the importance of social networks in addressing collective problems. War veterans' common value was the need to acquire the land for the majority Zimbabwean people.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe, 2000-2017**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. It emphasises the role played by war veteran social networks in the land occupations of 2000, which were later formalised as the FTLRP in 2001 (Sadomba, 2013; Chaumba et al., 2003a; Marongwe, 2003). The chapter also provides detail on the implementation of FTLRP, social networks of beneficiaries and debates on the outcomes of the programme. The land question had been, since 1890, a deep-seated unresolved problem for many Zimbabweans as evidenced by the ongoing illegal squatting on land by the landless, which culminated in nationwide unsuccessful land occupations in 1998 (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Sadomba, 2013). The failure of the early land reform period of the 1980s to the 1990s to redress the inequitable distribution of land, coupled with the dwindling economy, worsened the situation of Zimbabweans. The chapter argues that, in light of these developments, whether or not FTLRP was successful, it was inevitable. It emphasises the wide gap in academic literature on the outcomes of FTLRP, where most focus is on the material outcomes of the programme, with very little attention on the social and non-material outcomes.

The chapter is divided into three broad sections. The first section discusses the intense land occupations led by the war veteran networks. It illustrates the importance of social capital in the coordination of the occupations by war veterans and other actors involved. It also provides detail on the formalisation of FTLRP. The FTLRP models of implementation are also presented in this section with more emphasis on the A1 villagised crop-based model, which is the focus of this study. The section briefly discusses issues surrounding the land allocation process and the extent to which FTLRP redistributed land in Zimbabwe.

The second section provides detail on the limited post-settlement support given to beneficiaries by the government, such as inadequate social infrastructure and services in the FTLRP farms. The formation of structured and unstructured social networks emerging to address various problems emanating from post-settlement support are also discussed, showing the importance of social capital in addressing collective problems. The section also focuses on issues of labour in the new A1 and A2 farms and women's access to land. The

beneficiaries' maintenance of links with former places of residence (such as communal areas) to access social infrastructure and services is also discussed.

The last section focuses on the polarised debates of the outcomes of FTLRP, whether or not it was a success or failure. On one hand are critics of FTLRP who largely portray the programme as a failure. On the other hand are the supporters who argue that FTLRP had substantial benefits to beneficiaries.

#### **4.2 Intense land occupations**

In February 2000, the ZANU PF referendum which had been drafted to campaign for a new constitution was widely rejected (Hatchard, 2001). This was in response to the addition in the referendum of a “provision for compulsory acquisition of land for resettlement without compensation” (Hatchard, 2001:213). Politically, the government also faced pressure from a growing opposition party, the MDC, formed in 1999, which challenged the government on the dwindling economy and questions of democracy (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004). As has been noted in Chapter Three, the economy was already deteriorating at a very fast pace owing to the failure of structural adjustment and other decisions, such as the government's involvement in the DRC war (Bond and Manyanya, 2002; Chakaodza, 1993).

The rejection of the referendum was immediately followed by war veteran-led nationwide land occupations of white-owned farms, starting from the Masvingo Province and spreading to the rest of the country (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Sadomba, 2013). Some scholars argue that government support for these occupations was a means of restoring its delicate hegemonic status (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003). Other scholars highlight that the occupations were inevitable owing to the land question that had been left unaddressed since independence and was also suppressed by ESAP (Moyo, 2001). This study concurs with the latter, pointing to the continuous illegal squatting which started at independence, as a sign of desperation of the majority of Zimbabweans for land.

The phase of land occupations was commonly known as the “*jambanja*.” *Jambanja* is a Shona word meaning “violence or angry argument,” and many different meanings were attached to the word in reference to this phase of land occupations in various parts of the country (Chaumba et al., 2003a:540). In the context of Chiredzi District, the word *jambanja*



was used to describe some of the violent and unlawful activities of the occupations (Chaumba et al., 2003a), as described:

*Jambanja* came to refer to illicit activities on the farms...closing down roads, cutting down trees, poaching, cattle theft and mutilation, demanding meat and mealie meal from white farmers, ordering farmers, farmworkers, and neighbouring villages to attend political rallies...defying police orders (Chaumba et al., 2003a:542).

One interesting feature of the *jambanja* period is that its activities “were supported by the government” such that the violent and illegal activities came to be seen as normal (Chaumba et al., 2003a:542). This is a sharp contrast with the government’s move of evicting illegal land occupiers, known as squatters, in the mid-1980s when the government protected the white commercial farmers from the majority land-hungry people (Moyo, 1995). The government also used land occupations to campaign for upcoming “parliamentary and presidential elections of 2000 and 2002” and this explains the direct attack on opposition supporters during this period (Chaumba et al., 2003a:543). The occupations were also widely known as either “demonstrations” or “illegal land occupations” (Moyo, 2013b; Chaumba et al., 2003a). These occupations are an example of social networks which were led by the war veterans with the common objective of challenging the inequitable distribution of land. They portray advantages of social capital in tackling problems, for the benefit of society at large (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000).

The occupations were “more socially inclusive,” accommodating both rural and urban people, “state organs, where war veterans were concentrated, such as the uniformed forces” (Sadomba, 2013:84). The ZANU PF youth, wealthy members of society and active political figures also participated (Chaumba et al., 2003a). This composition of the occupations displays the capability of social capital to bring together people from various backgrounds to address a collective problem. The shared goal in this context was the reversal of the inequitable distribution of land under which the majority poor lived in marginal land. The occupations were meant to be temporary with the aim of highlighting the urgency for the government to address the land question (Chaumba et al., 2003a). The expectation of the land occupiers was that government would later regulate the process and provide land to the landless (Chaumba et al., 2003a). In response to the occupations, a law was passed to “protect illegal occupiers” against legal attempts by white farmers to safeguard their ownership of their land (Moyo, 2013b:35).

The war veterans' role in steering the land occupation movement was strategic because of their connection with the history of the liberation struggle in which the principal objective was to restore land that was dispossessed from Africans (Sadomba, 2013). Thus, they adopted a military approach of dealing with white farmers, which they borrowed from experience in the war for liberation (Sadomba, 2013). On every invaded farm, "base camps" were established, with a "highly militarised organisational structure" in which war veteran leaders were called "base commanders" (Chaumba et al., 2003b:596). Bases were small portions of land in the invaded farms where invaders took up temporary residence (Marongwe, 2003). The base commanders had strong links with local stakeholders (Scoones et al., 2010), and these relationships are portrayed below:

They often had connections with the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWA) and thus the District Land Committee [DLC], which, although formally chaired by the District Administrator, was in most instances controlled by war veterans (Scoones et al., 2010:45).

The participation of the DLC structures further confirms the involvement of the government in the land occupations. The rekindled spirit of the liberation struggle was also a strong unifying factor of the war veteran-led social networks.

Marongwe (2003) discusses the coordination of land occupiers in base camps. He notes that:

Occupiers relied on their own sources of food, built their own temporary housing structures and cared for their own health, making the occupation of farms close to their homes strategically preferable (Marongwe, 2003:168).

The above quotation shows that there was an agreed code of conduct among these networks, also known as norms, which are a core element of social capital (Field, 2003). The base camps also had norms surrounding the provision and coordination of food sources which were different due to varied contexts (Marongwe, 2003). Other norms of these social networks determined the time in which land occupiers were allowed to leave the bases by the base commanders sometimes to purchase food (Marongwe, 2003). In other invaded farms, the occupiers only lived temporarily within the bases because they spent the day in the farm and travelled back to their homes at the end of the day (Marongwe, 2003). The varied methods of organisation of land occupiers portray the context-specific nature of social capital (Foley and Edwards, 1999). The different contexts therefore influenced norms of these networks, which would drive the group towards the shared goal of acquiring land.

Land occupations were not simple and straightforward even though they were mostly led by similar structures of war veterans. However, they were very “fluid and complex” (Chaumba et al., 2003a:589). Scholarly evidence has shown that, in some areas chiefs played a key role in steering land occupations (Moyo et al., 2009), while in other areas, war veterans cooperated with chiefs for the success of the occupations (Mkodzongi, 2015). The variation of land occupations is further illustrated by Scoones et al. (2010)’s case study of Masvingo Province:

There is no single story of the process of land reform across our sites. Each was different...Some land was taken with a struggle; sometimes, though rarely in our cases, involving violence...In some cases, land occupations were led by organised groups of war veterans, with the backup of the state, in others it was groups of villagers from nearby communal areas which occupied the land (Scoones et al., 2010:43).

In Mhondoro-Ngezi and Mazowe Districts for instance, land occupations were highly organised (Mkodzongi, 2013a; Matondi, 2012). These are just a few of the many studies that show the variation of experiences of land allocations in the country, see also Moyo and Yeros (2005), Matondi (2012) and Chaumba et al. (2003a). Worth noting is the nature of social capital as embodied in these networks to adapt in these different environments and varied experiences of land occupiers. This shows that a shared goal or problem amongst social networks is the driving force regardless of the variations in contexts.

Some regions had more active participation in land occupations than others (Moyo, 2011b). For example, land occupiers in the Midlands Province infiltrated white farms in the neighbouring Matabeleland South Province (Moyo, 2011b). It is believed that the fact that Matabeleland war veterans had long been active supporters of the opposition MDC party, could have fuelled their initial scepticism about the land occupations (Moyo, 2011b). This slow pace of engaging in land occupations was also noted in Matabeleland North Province. Alexander and McGregor (2001:514) stress that war veterans in Matabeleland “had been outspoken critics of the way ZANU PF handled the legacies of the liberation war since independence.” They further explain that the delay in supporting land occupations was a response to the post-independence ZANU PF-instigated violence on ZAPU (war veterans) and its supporters between the early and the mid-1980s in Matabeleland, which hindered their support for government policies (Alexander and McGregor, 2001:515). While war veterans from Matabeleland cannot be separated from this history, it is problematic to treat them as a homogenous group.

In areas where there was no representation of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veteran Association (ZNLWVA), war veteran networks formed structures responsible for organising land occupations. For example, the Nyabira-Mazowe War Veterans Association (NMWVA), whose membership was also open to non-veterans, was formed to steer land occupations in Nyabira (Zvimba District) and Mazowe District (Masuko, 2013:140). This movement, which initially occupied “ten farms in Mashonaland West Province and 12 farms in Mashonaland Central Province” was influential to the extent that it was incorporated in the District Land Committee (DLC) structures (Masuko, 2013:126). This would not have been possible without the social networks of war veterans who coordinated people in these provinces towards addressing the common problem of shortage of land.

#### **4.3 Formalisation of the FTLRP**

From the late 2000, the state elected District Land Committees (DLC) to coordinate land allocation, a process which ended the phase of land occupations (Moyo et al., 2009). Below is the description of the composition of the DLC structures:

The DLC structure included the Rural District Council (RDC) Chairperson, the District Chairperson of the War Veterans Association, traditional leaders (headmen and chiefs), an officer from the President’s office, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) and officials from the departments of Social Welfare, Health, Veterinary and Agricultural Research and Extension (AREX) (Moyo et al., 2009:148).

The DLC was a “decentralised structure from national level to the farm level of land administration” showing that the government had control over the whole process (Moyo et al., 2009:148). The DLC composition portrays a shift from the market-led to the state-led approach of land reform by the government. As noted in the previous chapter, the state-led approach is controlled by the government in a “top down fashion” and “is implemented by their administrative branches” (Sikor and Müller, 2009:1307). The establishment of the DLC was government’s method of suppressing the power of war veterans who had played a leading role in the occupations (Moyo et al., 2009). The main responsibility of the DLC was land administration, which included “the identification of land for settlement, beneficiary selection, [and] attending to land disputes among the newly resettled” (Moyo et al., 2009:148).

The establishment of the DLC generally minimised the role of the chiefs in resettled areas (Matondi, 2012). Their responsibilities became subordinate to those of the DLC structures,

and their focus became limited to, inter alia, “minimisation of violence and intimidation” (Matondi, 2012:217). The nature of the land permits also confirmed the exclusion of chiefs as highlighted:

The permit that confers usufruct rights on the land beneficiary in perpetuity made it clear that the agreement was between the government represented by the Ministry of Lands and the leasee (Murisa, 2014:95).

The Traditional Leaders Act of 1999 treated chiefs as government workers as they received remuneration and other benefits, such as the provision of cars and electricity in their household plots (Murisa, 2014; Matondi, 2012). This is a sharp contrast with chiefs in communal areas who had authority over the “allocation of land and prevention of illegal settlement” (Murisa, 2014:95). In essence, chiefs in the FTLRP resettled areas had limited power over land.

The government published the “formal FTLRP policy document in April 2001” (Moyo, 2013b:35). The main objectives of the programme captured by the policy document (GoZ., 2001:2), were to “decongest overpopulated wards and villages”. This was with reference to the communal areas. It sought to “indigenise the Large Scale Commercial Farming (LSFC) sector,” (GoZ., 2001:2), meaning that local black people were expected to take over this sector of the economy. It also aimed to “reduce the extent and intensity of poverty among rural families and farmworkers by providing them with adequate land for agricultural use” (GoZ., 2001:2). This objective covered mostly those people whose impoverishment was a result of the past colonial policies. The programme also aimed to “develop and integrate small scale farmers into the mainstream of commercial agriculture” and this would empower small farmers to participate in the export market (GoZ., 2001:3). These objectives targeted the majority of the population both in rural and urban areas (Moyo et al., 2009) with the intention of providing the benefits of land to the wider majority of the population of Zimbabwe.

#### **4.3.1 FTLTP Models**

The FTLRP was implemented in two models, that is, Models A1 and A2. An average of “5 to 6 hectares of land for farming and 7 to 15 hectares per household for grazing” were allocated to beneficiaries of the A1 model (Moyo et al., 2009:8). The A2, on the other hand, allocated separate pieces of land for each beneficiary “at about 400 to 1 500 hectares”, and consisted of “small, medium, and large scale farms” where land sizes were different across the different

climatic zones (Moyo et al., 2009:9). The government offered “99 year and 25 year leases” to the A2 farm holders (Matondi and Dekker, 2011:6). The A2 lease holders had the advantage of using the advancements made within the farm infrastructure as “collateral for borrowing from financial institutions” (Matondi and Dekker, 2011:6). The A2 model is not the focus of this study.

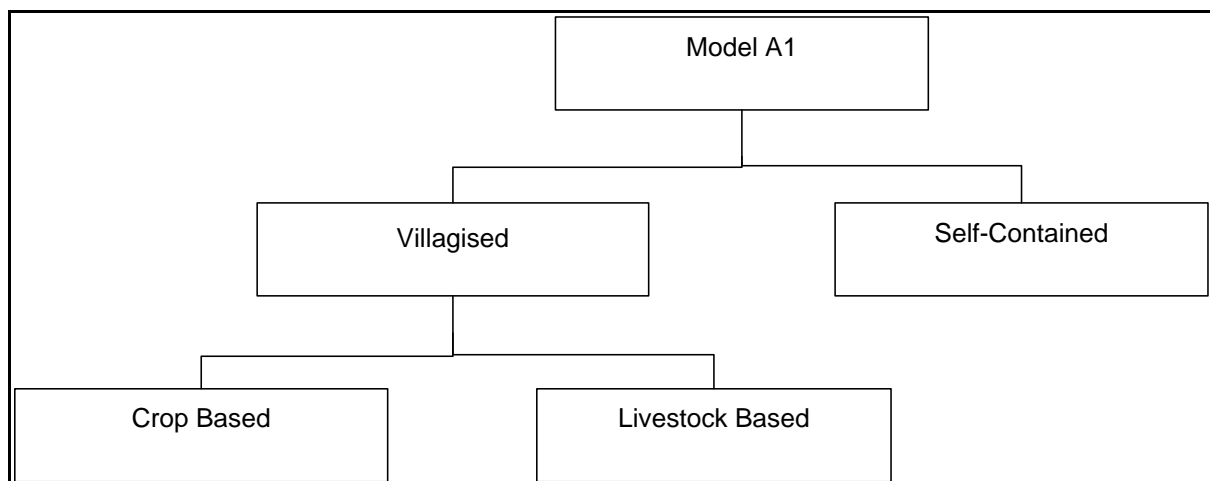
The A1 model is a small-scale farmers’ model whose target was “the landless peasants in the communal areas who formed the majority among the land hungry”, also known as the “decongestion model” (GoZ., 2001:11). It also incorporated “unemployed and disadvantaged people from communal, urban and other areas” (Moyo et al., 2009:8). The official land tenure for this model was in the form of offer letters (Matondi and Dekker, 2011). This type of tenure was seen as largely insecure because the government had the right to cancel the offer letters without “an obligation to compensate for any improvements which the settler might have made” (Matondi and Dekker, 2011:6). These A1 farms were heavily managed and controlled by the government (Matondi and Dekker, 2011) as expected in a state-led land reform (Sikor and Müller, 2009).

The A1 model had two variants, the villagised crop-based and the self-contained. According to Moyo et al. (2009), the villagised model could be likened to the Model A of the early 1980-1990 land reform period because of close similarities. The villagised model “settled beneficiaries in a closed village and allocated household arable land and land units in grazing land that are outside the village” (Moyo et al., 2009:8). Beneficiaries of this model communally shared grazing land, social infrastructure and services. The main objectives of the model are summarised:

- To relieve land pressure in overpopulated areas
- To extend and improve the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector
- To provide basic social and infrastructural services which facilitate the growth of a new cohesive society
- To provide an administrative system for the social management of new settlers
- To eliminate squatting and other disorderly settlements in both urban and rural environs (GoZ., 2001:11).

The self-contained variant allocated a separate piece of land to a single beneficiary, who would personally divide the land into residential and arable portions, as well as grazing land, within the farm (Moyo et al., 2009).

According to the FTLRP policy, there are two schemes of the A1 villagised model, the crop-based (which had been described above and is the focus of this study) and the livestock-based variants (GoZ., 2001). The livestock based variant, known as the three-tier model was designed for those communal areas with inadequate grazing land for commercial livestock production. It applied where these communal areas were located close to a farm acquired for redistribution (GoZ., 2001). The model targeted the dry agro-ecological regions where livestock production was the most suitable type of farming (GoZ., 2001). Land was divided into three tiers. The first tier was a village with residential and arable plots. The second tier, known as “the near grazing area”, was communal grazing land where beneficiaries kept limited livestock “for daily use” (GoZ., 2001:12). The third tier was grazing land used by all beneficiaries for “commercial” livestock production (GoZ., 2001:12). This model, which was only piloted in “two Districts of Matabeleland South Province, Mangwe and Matobo” was not successful (Cliffe et al., 2011:915). It is not the focus of this study. Figure 3 below is an illustration of the various components of the A1 model of FTLRP.



**Figure 3: The A1 Model of FTLRP**

Source: Fast Track Land Reform Policy, (GoZ., 2001:10).

There is a wealth of academic literature focusing on the outcomes of FTLRP with the main focus on the physical outcomes of land. However, most literature has not analysed the effectiveness of the FTLRP models and their influence on the attainment of the benefits of land. While acknowledging scholars such as Mabhena (2014), who analyses the FTLRP models and their suitability for Matabeleland’s agro-ecological conditions, this study also

contributes to this academic gap by analysing the A1 villagised model and its impact on the realisation of the benefits of land. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Seven and Eight.

#### **4.3.2 Land Allocation**

The pace of land redistribution under FTLRP was very fast compared to the earlier land reform of the 1980s to the 1990s as illustrated:

Of the 15 million hectares of land which in 1980 were controlled by about 6 000 white farmers, over 13 million had by 2009 been formally transferred to over 240 000 families of largely rural origin (Moyo, 2013b:42).

FTLRP led to the change in the colonially inherited bimodal agrarian structure to a trimodal structure. The trimodal structure emerged from an analysis of “differences in land size, forms of land tenure, social status of landholders and capacity to hire labour” (Moyo, 2011a:944). It consists of class of smallholder farmers, “middle sized farmers and large scale farmers and agro industrial estates, plantations and conservancies” (Moyo, 2011a:944). The biggest change in the agrarian structure was the increase in the percentage of smallholder farmers and the middle farmers while reducing the percentage of the large-scale commercial farms (Moyo, 2011a). Current studies point to four emerging agrarian classes, known as the Quadi PMMR structure based on analysis of agricultural production levels (Shonhe, 2018). The structure consists of “poor peasants, middle peasants, middle-to rich peasants and the rich capitalists” (Shonhe, 2018:276).

The process of land allocation was in four broad phases discussed by Moyo (2013b). The first phase, included “land occupations, land expropriations, establishment of the DLC and the adoption of the FTLRP policy,” and stretched from March 2000 to June 2001 (Moyo, 2013b:34-35). The second phase, between “mid 2001 to 2003”, consisted of adjustments made in the A2 model of FTLRP and the massive allocation of land through the model (Moyo, 2013b:37). There was a very fast pace of land allocation in the third phase, between “January 2004 to June 2008” (Moyo, 2013b:37). The fourth phase, between “July 2008 to December 2011,” was characterised by the allocation of remaining smaller portions of land (Moyo, 2013b:37).

The land allocation process was not a straight forward and smooth one. Some scholars have shown that the DLC structures allocated land to more people than initially planned and



reduced the stipulated sizes of land in response to pressure for land (Moyo et al., 2009). There is evidence of informal arrangements on the land relations in many parts of the country, where some beneficiaries rented out their land for a fee (Mkodzongi, 2013b; Scoones et al., 2010). Also evident is another form of squatting on allocated land by those who did not acquire land through the FTLRP (Moyo et al., 2009; Scoones et al., 2010). This is different from the squatting of the early 1980s where the landless illegally occupied white-owned farms as a method of soliciting the government to purchase land for redistribution (Moyo, 1995). The squatting in FTLRP-resettled areas shows that, even though the programme acquired most of the prime land, it did not cater for all the landless people.

The Three Tier Model designed for drier agro-ecological regions was piloted in two Districts of the Matabeleland South Province and did not yield positive results (Cliffe et al., 2011). There was lack of clarity on the processes and allocation of land through this model (Cliffe et al., 2011). People from surrounding communal areas felt excluded by the model, whose focus was only on those with more livestock “to build a commercial herd” and this problem led to the abandonment of the model and the opening up of grazing land for everyone (Cliffe et al., 2011:915). This shows that the only model created for the drier parts of the country through the FTLRP was not compatible with the expectations of the people from communal areas.

#### **4.4 Local government structures in the A1 villagised farms**

As expected in a state-led land reform programme, there was a heavy presence of the local government structures in the administration of A1 villagised farms (Matondi and Dekker, 2011). The most visible structures and their responsibilities are briefly discussed in the following sections.

##### **4.4.1 Traditional leaders**

All the land redistributed under FTLTP was placed under the jurisdiction of chiefs (Moyo et al., 2009). The intention of the government was for these “local systems of the government” to assume total control of A1 villages, moving away from direct control of central government (Moyo et al., 2009:149). However, the role of chiefs in the FTLRP farms was minimised as discussed in section 4.3.

#### **4.4.2 Rural District Councils (RDC)**

The most visible structures of the RDC in villagised farms are the “councillors and the chief executive officers” (Moyo et al., 2009:147). The latter run the day-to-day activities of the council (Moyo et al., 2009). The councillors have oversight over the Ward Development Committee (WADCO) where they consolidate, plan and oversee the implementation of the development plans of the Village Development Committees (VIDCO) (Murisa, 2009). The councillor coordinates and chairs meetings with Village Heads in the respective ward who act as representatives of their villages (Murisa, 2009). They also “consider development plans of VIDCOs, and integrate them into a ward development plan for onward submission to the RDC” (Murisa, 2009:175).

#### **4.4.3 Village heads**

The Village Head is the leader of the A1 village, whose main responsibility is to oversee all matters arising in the village and “the chairing of the Village Development Committee (VIDCO) structure” (Murisa, 2009:178). The VIDCO is a selected group of representative beneficiaries with the responsibilities of addressing various development needs of the village, such as establishing and ensuring the maintenance of systems of communally “sharing the inherited infrastructure” (Murisa, 2009:178). Members of the VIDCO are allocated various development committees which they coordinate at village level; for instance, a “women’s affairs” committee representative can be responsible for coordinating all issues regarding the affairs of women (Murisa, 2009:178). Just like traditional leaders, Village Heads are “paid by the government through the Rural District Council” and therefore regarded as government employees through the Traditional Leaders Act of 1999 (GoZ., 1999). Some of their key roles include “the maintenance of up-to-date registers of names of the inhabitants of the village, collection of levies, taxes and other charges payable to the Rural District Council” (GoZ., 1999).

#### **4.4.4 Government extension services**

The government mandated the Department of Agriculture and Rural Extension (AREX) to provide all extension services in A1 villagised farms (Moyo et al., 2009). These include veterinary services and the deployment of agricultural extension officers (Moyo et al., 2009). The extension officers played a role in the land allocation processes which were coordinated by DLCs (Murisa, 2009). After land allocation, their responsibilities include “training on improved farming methods, assisting beneficiaries in obtaining necessary farm inputs, and

monitoring the usage of inputs on behalf of the government” (Murisa, 2009:181). They also provide advice on the “marketing of crops and livestock” within their areas of jurisdiction (Murisa, 2009:182). It is very clear that their role is in the general advancement of agricultural production of beneficiaries.

#### **4.5 Access to social infrastructure and services**

Unlike the resettlement programme of the 1980s, the government did not have capital to finance the provision of “adequate social infrastructure and services to the beneficiaries” of the FTLRP (Moyo et al., 2009:125). Social services and infrastructure such as “education, health care, access to transport, [and] access to local stores” were either absent or substandard in most FTLRP farms (Moyo et al., 2009:125). The government’s plan in A1 farms was “that existing social structures would be converted into schools, police posts, extension offices and clinics for use by all beneficiaries” (Sukume et al., 2004:12). Beneficiaries would be expected to share these facilities on a communal basis, especially those allocated land in A1 villagised farms under government instruction (Murisa, 2011; Murisa, 2013). The government was aware that these conversions would be insufficient to cover all the social services and infrastructural needs of beneficiaries (Sukume et al., 2004). This limited post-settlement support is one of the main problems faced by the A1 villagised model beneficiaries.

Under the A2 model, access to infrastructure was based on availability on that particular piece of land (Moyo et al., 2009). There was no guarantee that all A2 farmers would access infrastructure because the subdivisions of the large white-owned farms meant that some of the plots were on parts of the farm which had none (Sukume et al., 2004). The availability or lack of infrastructure directly affected agricultural production levels in the A2 farms, with those without infrastructure being more disadvantaged (Sukume et al., 2004).

Sukume et al. (2004:12-13) sum up the policy limitations regarding infrastructure usage, which is a source of numerous conflicts in both A1 and A2 farms. First, it was difficult to ensure that all beneficiaries had equal access to infrastructure because “infrastructure allocation and use policies and their benefits” were not equally spread across the country (Sukume et al., 2004:12). Second, there was lack of clarity in the land policy as to whether the infrastructure belonged to the state or the new beneficiaries. Third, it was unclear as to whether the government preferred the communal sharing of infrastructure or its control by a selected few (Sukume et al., 2004). These policy gaps are important because the availability

or lack of infrastructure directly influences agricultural production, and the lack of clarity in the policy has negative effects. Social capital would be critical in covering some of these policy gaps especially regarding infrastructure usage in the A1 villagised farms. Social capital is an important asset especially in a context where resources have to be shared. It facilitates development and leads people to assist one another, cooperate in community activities and coordinate the use of public resources through relationships in social networks (Coleman, 1990; Putnam et al., 1993).

#### **4.5.1 Formation of social networks**

The role of social networks in the day-to-day lives of rural people is a common phenomenon in communal areas (Murisa, 2011) and resettlement villages of the 1980s to the 1990s in Zimbabwe (Barr, 2004; Dekker, 2004) and is widely documented. The fact that these networks feature substantially in literature on the FTLRP proves that social capital is an important asset of “social cohesion,” (Field, 2003). The formation of these networks by FTLRP beneficiaries was inevitable considering that, in A1 villagised farms in particular, they shared infrastructure and services, which required collective action (Sukume et al., 2004; Murisa, 2013; Mkodzongi, 2013a). The government also encouraged the creation of these networks by instructing the beneficiaries in A1 farms to share social infrastructure and services (Murisa, 2013; Murisa, 2011) FTLRP beneficiaries did not have adequate social support such as the “lineage framework” prevalent in communal areas (Murisa, 2011:1146). The lineage framework means the presence of family ties and close relatives within communal areas who provide various forms of support. In essence, the family and relatives ties are a form of social capital. Most “non-governmental organisations and the national farmers union were hesitant to help these new farmers, especially the A1 beneficiaries” due to the politicisation of FTLRP (Murisa, 2011:1146). Thus, beneficiaries had to use their own agency through relationships with each other to combat common problems (Murisa, 2011).

In Zvimba and Goromonzi Districts, various social networks emerged with different goals, such as the organisation of “farm labour, sharing expert information and ensuring access to critical inputs” (Murisa, 2013:278). There is evidence of both structured and unstructured networks in these Districts (Murisa, 2013). Examples of structured networks were the “Zvimba South Farmers Association” and the “Bromley Farmers Association” which catered for various agricultural production-related needs of both A1 and A2 beneficiaries (Murisa, 2013:279). These networks covered a wider scope, such as Ward or District level (Murisa,

2013). Another level of networking was also present at village level, where A1 beneficiaries established networks which had more or less similar functions to the larger ones (Murisa, 2013).

Social networks took various forms in various contexts. In Mhondoro-Ngezi District, for example, the Damvuri Development Association was formed to organise resources for financing the building of new infrastructure (Mkodzongi, 2013a). The network was also a channel of communication with politicians and local stakeholders on problems faced by beneficiaries in the farm which needed to be addressed (Mkodzongi, 2013a). The composition of these networks differed in different contexts, due to various challenges faced by beneficiaries. Other informal social networks include “churches, burial societies; HIV/AIDS support groups, women’s saving groups” and those that focused on local farming grievances (Scoones et al., 2010; Mkodzongi, 2013a; Masuko, 2013). In Mwenezi District, men started “beef committees” which dealt with the sale of meat, that were functioning social networks (Mutopo, 2014b:183). Most of the relationships within networks were established and strengthened in various meeting areas such as “village, school, political meetings, church gathering and agricultural training events” in the case of Masvingo Province (Scoones et al., 2010:207).

Participation in political parties, was, as noted above, another space for building strategic connections in Mhondoro-Ngezi District (Mkodzongi, 2013a). Since all beneficiaries acquired land from the government, most joined government political structures to safeguard their tenure on land through supporting the government (Mkodzongi, 2013a). This was also a response to the fact that openly supporting opposition parties was seen as a threat to government, often with severe negative consequences (Mkodzongi, 2013a). It is through these networks that beneficiaries also acquired certain services from the government which they could not have accessed elsewhere (Mkodzongi, 2013a). In other parts of the country, such as Mazowe District, there was a continuation of the dominance of war veteran networks affiliated with the ruling government in coordinating various development activities even after land allocation (Matondi, 2012). These are just a few examples that show political participation as a unifying element of some of the social networks in FTLRP farms.

There is evidence of much stronger social networks in the form of “friendships among women” living in A1 villagised farms of the Mwenezi District (Matondi, 2012). Women

assisted each other in the responsibilities on their arable plots and “share[d] labour and resources, such as ploughs and oxen” (Mutopo, 2014b:184). The transference of vital information, which is a core element of social capital (Lin, 2001; Coleman, 1990), was also a common feature of these networks as noted:

Resource sharing was not limited only to moral support, cattle and labour. Farmers would also share their thoughts and experiences and information on crop and livestock improvement (Mutopo, 2014b:186).

The fact that these relationships were referred to as good friendships shows that they became much stronger than ordinary relationships among people in the same community (Mutopo, 2014b). All these social networks prove that, where there is limited post-settlement support, social capital is an important asset.

#### **4.5.2 Links with Communal Areas**

Many beneficiaries kept their homes in communal areas after acquiring land through FTLRP. One of the main reasons was to access services in the communal areas, which were either absent or ill equipped in resettled areas such as “schools, clinics and shops” (Matondi and Dekker, 2011:31). Beneficiaries of FTLRP continued to source “inputs, seeds, labour and other productive sources” from their previous networks in communal areas (Murisa, 2013:272). There are multiple other reasons for maintaining homes in communal areas, which have been widely documented. Since many beneficiaries were not sure at the outset if their tenure would be secure in FTLRP farms, they wanted to have homes to return to in the event that they lost the land (Matondi and Dekker, 2011; Murisa, 2013; Mkodzongi, 2013a; Matondi, 2012). Marital relationships across the communal and resettled areas also contributed to the maintenance of the connection between the two places (Murisa, 2013:272). These are just a few of the many reasons for the continued link of FTLRP beneficiaries with their previous places of residence.

#### **4.5.3 Labour**

There was a variation in the labour relations between the larger A2 farms and the smaller A1 farms. Most A2 beneficiaries “relied heavily on hired labour” for all processes of production in their farms (Chambati, 2013:168). This was because A2 farms are larger than smallholder farms. Access to land by smaller A1 beneficiaries provided employment in the form of family labour (Chambati, 2013). Family labour is the use of individual household members’ labour for production activities on their allocated land. It consisted of the day-to-day planning and

running of all activities associated with agricultural production (Moyo et al., 2009). Most A1 farms relied more on family labour because, generally, more family members were resident on the land than most A2 beneficiaries, who were largely absent from their land (Moyo et al., 2009; Chambati, 2013).

A baseline survey covering five Districts in different agro-ecological regions of Zimbabwe reported that some beneficiaries hired labour to supplement inadequate available labour power (Moyo et al., 2009). The two types of labour were permanent workers, who usually resided with their employers, while seasonal workers were mostly required “during peak periods such as planting, weeding and harvesting” (Moyo et al., 2009:100). The seasonal workers usually resided in their own homes and only made themselves available during working hours (Scoones et al., 2010). These two types of workers were remunerated differently, “full time workers received periodic wages and benefits, normally on a monthly basis whilst part time workers were paid for the specific task for the period they were hired in” (Moyo et al., 2009:100). Evidence from the survey showed that “most A1 beneficiaries (68.7 per cent) did not rely on full time workers but 51.7 per cent” relied more on seasonal workers who were hired to accomplish specific tasks during the production process (Moyo et al., 2009:101). Similar results were also reported in the Masvingo area where “60 percent of A1 households hired temporary labour, while 19 percent also hired permanent labour” (Scoones et al., 2010:131).

#### **4.5.4 Women’s access to land**

Before FTLRP, most women did not obtain individual titles to land due to “patriarchal relations” which were largely biased towards men. (Mutopo, 2014a:200). Thus, access to land for most women was through marriage, and these are known as “usufruct rights” (Mutopo, 2014a:200). Only “5 percent” of women had individual titles to land in “the previous resettlement areas and communal lands combined” which shows the magnitude of the problem of unequal access to land between men and women (Moyo, 2011b:504). The FTLRP saw an increase in the percentage of women who acquired individual titles to land, estimated between “12 percent and 18 percent” throughout the country (Moyo, 2011b:504). Other sources noted that 14 percent of women obtained land individually after FTLRP (Utete, 2003). A close analysis of studies on the gendered perspective of land reform has shown that women also used various social networks in accessing land through FTLRP and that they

faced many challenges (Mutopo, 2014b; Chingarande et al., 2012). This explains the increase in the percentage of women who acquired individual titles.

There are various debates on the social status of women who acquired land individually through FTLRP. Some scholars argue that more powerful women with a higher social standing accessed individual title, and not the “vulnerable groups, such as widows and divorcees” (Moyo, 2011b:504). Mutopo (2011:1027) challenges this view, arguing that “women heads emerged as victors compared to their married counterparts in terms of land access, even though the state and traditional actors wanted to capitalise on using culture to exclude them.” She highlights that most married women did not get individual title because they were absent during the period of the land occupations and attending to their household activities in their homes while their husbands joined the land occupation processes (Mutopo, 2011). She therefore argues that “vulnerable” women, who are “single, divorced and widowed capitalised on the use of social networks and political party affiliations and gained new power forms that enabled them to acquire land” especially in A1 farms in the case of Mwenezi District (Mutopo, 2011:1027). These dynamics, according to Mutopo (2011) account for the higher percentage of women who obtained individual title through FTLRP.

#### **4.6 FTLRP: A success or failure?**

There is a polarised debate surrounding the outcomes of FTLRP. On one hand are scholars who criticised the land allocation processes and resultant outcomes. Scoones et al. (2010:8) summarised five main arguments of the critics of FTLRP. First, that it was “a total failure.” Second, that the beneficiary selection process favoured those with political connections with the ruling government. Third, that “there was no investment in the new settlements” (Scoones et al., 2010:8). Fourth, that agricultural production was totally destroyed nationally; and lastly, that “the rural economy collapsed” (Scoones et al., 2010:8).

The supporters of FTLRP on the other hand, argue that even though FTLRP was fraught with many challenges, there were significant positive outcomes, see Moyo (2011a), Matondi (2012), Scoones et al. (2010), Mkodzongi (2013b) and Hanlon et al. (2013). They argue, contrary to the critics, that, even though FTLRP reduced agricultural production levels, there had been an upward improvement in production. They also argue that FTLRP provided the much-needed livelihood to beneficiaries with the A1 model being more successful than the A2. They argue that FTLRP actually benefited mostly “ordinary people” including those



from the “opposition” and that it is not true that those with political connections benefited the most. The supporters provided evidence to illustrate that new farmers were engaging in various agricultural processes, (investing on the land) using their own personal finances due to limited post settlement support (Scoones et al., 2010; Matondi, 2012). They also highlight that FTLRP opened up other livelihood opportunities beyond agricultural production.

A clear gap in the debates on outcomes of FTLRP is that there is too much focus on the physical outcomes of land reform. There is very little focus on the social outcomes of land, which this study argues are equally essential. There is also very limited focus in these studies on issues of social organisation, yet it has a direct influence on the attainment of the benefits of land.

#### **4.7 Critics of FTLRP**

Critics argue that FTLRP benefited the “privileged members of the ruling elite” with political connections, yet the programme’s aim had been the “poverty reduction through decongestion of communal areas” (Sachikonye, 2003:236). This means that the majority poor did not benefit from FTLRP. Other scholars add that focus on politically connected people led to the conscious side-lining of members of opposition parties (Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003; Bond, 2008). Thus, beneficiaries had to continuously show their support to the government as a mechanism of escaping eviction, or rather, “reasserting their legitimacy” (Zamchiya, 2011:1093). They argue that FTLRP did not actually benefit “ordinary people” as noted by its supporters because their analysis of “ordinary, which uses socio-economic backgrounds,” is problematic (Zamchiya, 2011:1108). In fact, war veterans were not seen as “ordinary”, regardless of their socio-economic standing because “they reinvented their identity which became political currency in gaining access to land through mobilisation, land invasions and [in]formal allocation processes” (Zamchiya, 2011:1108). In other words, the social networks of war veterans gave them more advantages over other ordinary people in matters of access to land.

While government authorities see the FTLRP as successful in so far as it redistributed land to a large number of beneficiaries, critics stress that the programme disadvantaged a large section of the population, especially the farmworkers (Zamchiya, 2011; Sachikonye, 2003). They argue that “they paid little attention to the 200,000 farm worker households who were displaced and impoverished by the process” (Sachikonye, 2005:37). This displacement of

many farmworkers did not resonate with the view of the supporters of FTLRP, who argue that the programme benefited mostly “ordinary people” without links with the ruling government (Zamchiya, 2011:1119).

Critics point to the drastic drop in national agricultural production by the commercial sector as one of the major failures of FTLRP (Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003; Bond, 2008). According to Richardson (2005:542), FTLRP was the “primary driver of Zimbabwe’s collapse, not the lack of rainfall.” They further stress that FTLRP failed to produce “small and medium scale capitalist farmers” due to government’s lack of capital to provide necessary post-settlement support to beneficiaries (Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003:23). This, according to Derman (2006), hindered progressive growth in agricultural processes.

FTLRP was “opaque and chaotic” as seen by the critics (Sachikonye, 2003:237). They argue that the programme did not have any set measures of safeguarding the tenure of the beneficiaries such that they did not “make substantial investments in their properties and production capacities” (Sachikonye, 2005:40). Others stress that the programme was “an overwhelming failure” since it could not adequately address “poverty and inequality” (Derman, 2006:24). This means that even the economy of the country dwindled because of FTLRP. A careful analysis of the views of the critics implies that FTLRP did not have a positive impact. The critics do not address the social outcomes of FTLRP in their analysis, which this study stresses are just as essential as the non-material outcomes.

## **4.8 Supporters of FTLRP**

### **4.8.1 Change in agrarian structure**

Supporters emphasise that the “reversal of racial patterns of land ownership” in which black indigenous people who were previously landless acquired land was a positive change in the agrarian structure (Moyo, 2011a:944). They argue that the majority poor Zimbabweans were empowered to access the benefits of land through FTLRP (Moyo, 2011b). The fact after FTLRP there were more players in the agricultural production processes nationally and more land utilisation showed the benefits of the programme (Moyo, 2011a:951-952). Evidence from studies in various parts of the country confirmed these views, illustrating that access to land by new people provided the much-needed livelihoods, which they could not have had without access to land (Scoones et al., 2010; Matondi, 2012; Mkodzongi, 2013b; Hanlon et al., 2013). The supporters of FTLRP imply that it had positive benefits for the beneficiaries.

#### 4.8.2 Land allocation

Supporters of FTLRP challenge the critics' view that the FTLTP was largely disorganised and chaotic. They point to evidence in some parts of the country where the process was orderly, especially in Chiredzi area where even within the "violent season of *jambanja*", there were systematic plans made by the land occupiers, which were organised (Chaumba et al., 2003a:545). In Mhondoro Ngezi District also, the process of land occupations and allocations through FTLRP was highly organised (Mkodzongi, 2013a).

Supporters of FTLRP argue that it benefited mostly ordinary people. This is contrary to the critics' view that FTLRP benefited mostly those with political connections with the ruling ZANU PF government. They highlight that nationally, the largest number of beneficiaries of FTLRP were "unemployed people mainly from rural areas," even though people living in the urban areas benefited (Moyo, 2011a:506). These findings are confirmed by various studies on different parts of the country such as: the Masvingo Province (Scoones et al., 2010), Mazoe, Shamva (Mashonaland Central Province) and Mangwe (Matabeleland South Province) Districts (Matondi, 2012), and Murehwa and Goromonzi Districts (Mashonaland East Province) Districts (Hanlon et al., 2013).

They further emphasise, in response to the critics that FTLRP also allocated land to opposition party members. According to Moyo (2011a), a large section of those supporting opposition parties obtained land across the country, even in those provinces which were strongholds of the opposition. This was also the case in the Mazowe District, a stronghold of ZANU PF, where parliamentary election results portrayed substantial support for the opposition by beneficiaries of the FTLRP (Matondi, 2012). Members of the opposition engaged various strategies to access land, including joining government support structures as a method of accessing the land, as was the case in Mhondoro-Ngezi District (Mkodzongi, 2013a).

Supporters admit to corrupt measures practised by government officials in the allocation of land countrywide (Moyo, 2011b; Scoones et al., 2010). They acknowledge that indeed government officials and their connections accessed more than one farm each (Moyo, 2011b). They also admit that some A2 beneficiaries were utilising land that had not been officially allocated to them and which they accessed through connections with top government officials (Moyo, 2011b). However, they argue that these corrupt practices did not dominate the whole

process of the implementation of the programme as propounded by the critics (Moyo, 2011b; Scoones et al., 2010).

In response to the critics about the marginalisation of farmworkers, the supporters of FTLRP acknowledge that indeed they were side-lined and that many remained landless (Chambati, 2013). Many farmworkers who lost employment due to the FTLRP sought refuge in various parts of the country (Chambati, 2013). Some were evicted from white-owned farms and scattered across “communal areas, urban areas and informal settlements while others were still resident in the farm compounds” (Chambati, 2013:164). The main reason for the isolation of farmworkers was that they were not listed as targeted recipients of land in the FTLRP policy document (Chambati, 2013). The government regarded them as supporters of the MDC opposition party because of their supposed allegiance to white farmers who opposed the FTLRP (Chambati, 2013). Their plight was later addressed by the government after the “land audits” through a directive that farmworkers were to be accommodated in the land allocation processes (Chambati, 2013).

#### **4.8.3 Agricultural production and livelihoods**

The outcomes of fast track were socially differentiated due to different levels of the socio-economic status of beneficiaries. Mkodzongi (2013b), Moyo et al. (2009) and Scoones et al. (2010) are a few of the many scholars who show that the “success” of beneficiaries in obtaining livelihoods was not homogenous. These and other studies illustrate the emergence of different classes of people based on their social capital and social economic backgrounds and other factors. In the case of Mhondoro-Ngezi District for example, beneficiaries with links to top government officials and more capital had higher production levels because they could afford to hire labour, and to access government inputs through their connections (Mkodzongi, 2013a). The rest of the poor with limited means of living and lack of connections with political leaders had very little production (Mkodzongi, 2013a). These and other variables of differentiation have been widely documented (Scoones et al., 2010; Moyo, 2013a; Moyo et al., 2009).

Concerning agricultural production, supporters of FTLRP admit that national production levels fell after FTLRP due to the change in agrarian structure (Moyo, 2011b; Hanlon et al., 2013). However, they argue that there was a significant improvement in production levels over time (Matondi, 2012; Hanlon et al., 2013). They point to different periods in which

improvement became noticeable. According to Matondi (2012:256-7), since 2008, improvements were observed countrywide in crops such as “maize, cotton, sugarcane, tobacco, soya beans and sugar beans” while Moyo (2011a:947) notes that the positive change in national production started in 2006. Hanlon et al. (2013) on the other hand, see the period of the introduction of the US Dollar to the country in 2009 as the onset of agricultural improvement. Agricultural production was regarded as the most important material benefit of FTLRP by its supporters, with less attention on social benefits of land, and is a wide gap in literature on FTLRP. This study contributes to this gap by giving equal value to both material and non-material benefits of land.

The most dominant outcome of FTLRP highlighted by supporters is that, on a household level, FTLRP contributed significantly to the livelihoods of beneficiaries through crop and livestock production and this is well documented in literature by scholars such as Scoones et al. (2010), Matondi (2012), Mkodzongi (2013b) to mention just a few. The movement of people to previously restricted white farms opened up other livelihood opportunities, such as access to wildlife and natural resources (Mkodzongi, 2013b). Mining activities for instance, spread into FTLRP farms where most beneficiaries accessed gold deposits (Mkodzongi, 2013a; Moyo, 2011b). The sale of gold provided income which assisted the beneficiaries to finance various activities in the farm and cater for their subsistence (Mkodzongi, 2013b). These and other livelihood opportunities have been well documented in literature. Livelihood creation is another outcome, which has received too much attention from the supporters of the FTLRP who minimise the social benefits of land.

According to literature, the A1 model has, to a large extent, been the most successful so far. Various studies have shown how the A1 model (both self-contained and villagised) provided the much needed livelihoods to beneficiaries’ households in various parts of the country (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2010; Hanlon et al., 2013). This is regardless of the fact that A1 farmers have also faced multiple challenges. Moyo (2011a) also illustrated this contribution of FTLRP in various nationwide studies. Findings from Mhondoro-Ngezi, also reiterate that, through the A1 villagised model, beneficiaries accessed improved livelihoods (Mkodzongi, 2013b). Studies on Matabeleland Provinces also concur that FTLRP also contributed to urban livelihoods through the A1 villagised and self-contained models (Moyo, 2013a). These are just a few of the multiple studies that show the progressive nature of FTLRP through the A1 models. However, these studies do not critique these A1 models,

particularly their capacity to maintain the agricultural production and livelihood creation, which are seen as notable successes. This study contributes to this gap by critiquing the A1 villagised model and its implication on livelihoods.

#### **4.8.4 Challenges**

The supporters acknowledged the multiple challenges and problems faced by FTLRP beneficiaries. They admit that the government input scheme was biased towards the larger A2 farms, while the smaller A1 beneficiaries were allocated a very small percentage (Moyo, 2011a; Scoones et al., 2010). This largely disadvantaged the smallholder A1 beneficiaries, most of whom had limited capital to finance agricultural production activities (Scoones et al., 2010; Moyo, 2011a). Their plight was worsened by the inability to obtain credit and the delay in the provision of government inputs, which negatively affected production (Mkodzongi, 2013b; Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2010). Similar findings were reported by other scholars who documented outcomes of FTLRP in various parts of the country. These scholars paid very little attention to the nature of the FTLRP models and their contribution to some of the challenges faced by beneficiaries which, the study argues, have a direct effect on livelihood creation. This study responds to this gap by analysing the A1 villagised model and its contribution to the benefits of land.

#### **4.8.5 Tenure security and investment**

Supporters argue that there was largely a general sense of security in terms of land tenure in FTLRP A1 and A2 farms (Scoones et al., 2010; Moyo, 2011b; Hanlon et al., 2013). They admit that there was a lower level of security of tenure in some areas of the country such as Mazowe District (Matondi, 2012). Due to Mazowe's location on the outskirts of urban centres, beneficiaries feared losing land because top government officials had evicted some beneficiaries to accommodate national agricultural projects (Matondi, 2012). However, the supporters maintain that insecurity of tenure was not prevalent in the FTLRP farms across the country.

Supporters oppose the view of critics that beneficiaries were not investing on the land due to lack of security regarding tenure issues, *inter alia*, arguing that beneficiaries had made substantial investments on the land (Matondi, 2012; Moyo, 2011b). Many improvements had been made on the land, which include constructing homes, acquiring relevant tools for farming and transforming what used to be structured white farms into functional spaces for

residential and agricultural usage (Scoones et al., 2010). Other studies concur, adding that most of the improvements on the land were made using beneficiaries' personal funds (Hanlon et al., 2013). For more detail on farm investments, see also Mkodzongi (2013a), Murisa (2013) and Mutopo (2014b). This focus on investing on land leans more towards the material outcomes of FTLRP and less on the social outcomes, which is a substantial gap in literature. This study will illustrate the importance of investing in strategic relationships through social capital, and their contribution to the benefits of land.

#### **4.8.6 Development from below**

The generally held view by supporters is that, because of limited post-settlement support from the government, beneficiaries made a substantial contribution to the realisation of the benefits of land through FTLRP, known as “development from below” (Scoones et al., 2010; Matondi, 2012; Hanlon et al., 2013). For example, the rise in the levels of agricultural production in Mazowe District became more visible in 2008, after the government withdrew its support, meaning that beneficiaries played an active role (Matondi, 2012). This was also the case in Masvingo Province, where most of the success in agricultural production was a result of the agency and personal finances of beneficiaries without assistance from the government and external funding institutions (Scoones et al., 2010). Evidence from a study of Murehwa and Goromonzi Districts also supports the view that beneficiaries' success was a result of their efforts to purchase inputs due to very limited assistance from the government (Hanlon et al., 2013).

#### **4.8.7 FTLRP in Matabeleland Provinces**

The studies consulted here provide useful insight for the analysis of outcomes of FTLRP in Matabeleland Provinces, where Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located. Even though there are very limited studies on the outcomes of FTLRP in Matabeleland, these also reflect the views of both the critics and supporters of FTLRP. Critics argue that FTLRP did not contribute to the creation and improvement of livelihoods in the Matabeleland South Province (Mabhena, 2013). This, they argue, resulted from the failure of the government to design land reform models that accommodate the livestock production needs of the Province, located in a dry agro-ecological belt (Mabhena, 2013). They also reiterate the view that FTLRP benefited mostly those who had connections with government leaders, while side-lining the majority landless who largely supported opposition parties (Mabhena, 2013). This study commends Mabhena (2013) for critiquing the models of FTLRP and their impact on livelihoods, which

is a missing element in many analyses on the outcomes of FTLRP. This study will also critique the A1 villagised model and its effect on livelihoods to provide new insights.

There is growing evidence even in Matabeleland that counters the critics of FTLRP. The supporters reported that the programme benefited the majority ordinary people, even in Matabeleland provinces in Districts such as Mangwe (Matabeleland South Province), where “most beneficiaries, 69%, of FTLRP were local ordinary people from within the District” (Moyo et al., 2009:23). Even though agricultural production levels are generally low in Matabeleland provinces, FTLRP also provided opportunities for mining gold in former white-owned farms (Moyo et al., 2009). FTLRP also increased the much-needed grazing land for people in Mangwe District in Matabeleland South (Matondi, 2012). These findings point to the contribution of FTLTP to livelihoods in the Matabeleland Provinces.

A study that analysed urban livelihoods of A1 beneficiaries living in the city Bulawayo, by Moyo (2013a) stresses that FTLTP contributed to their livelihoods through agricultural production, despite the fairly dry agro-ecological conditions in the Matabeleland Provinces. Moyo (2013a:29) expresses that “rural urban transfers of food from the A1 farms improved urban food access in the urban area.” He highlights that A1 farmers transported their produce to the city of Bulawayo for sale and this was a “small contribution to the urban food system and urban food chains” (Moyo, 2013a:30). He notes that production levels were influenced by the availability of capital to invest in agriculture since most beneficiaries relied on personal funds and very limited state support (Moyo, 2013a).

This literature shows that outcomes of FTLRP in Matabeleland fit into broader national debates. There is evidence of the progressive nature of FTLRP in sustaining livelihoods highlighted by Moyo (2013a), Moyo et al. (2009), (Matondi, 2012) and other scholars mentioned earlier. Part of Mabhena (2013)’s analysis resonates with views of the critics of FTLRP discussed earlier. The outcomes of FTLRP in Matabeleland are different from land reform in the early 1980s to the 1990s when the region was experiencing post-war conflict, discussed in the previous chapter in section 3.5.4. FTLRP started at a time when the whole country was in a crisis, including Matabeleland. It opened up opportunities for more people in Matabeleland to access land compared to the earlier resettlement period. It shows that the experience and outcomes of FTLRP in Matabeleland are not peculiar as in the 1980s, but fit



into broader national debates. This is despite the fact that Matabeleland provinces remained the stronghold of opposition political parties even during the FTLRP phase (Alexander, 1991)

Just like many studies on the outcomes of FTLRP, agricultural production as a form of livelihood also emerges as the most essential outcome of FTLRP literature in the Matabeleland Provinces. This is despite the fact that generally Matabeleland Provinces are located within a drier agro-ecological belt of Zimbabwe where rainfall is low and agricultural production is low (Weiner, 1988). This study stresses that, in such a context, more or at least equal focus should be given to the non-material benefits of land.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

This chapter provided detail on FTLRP in Zimbabwe. It emphasised the role played by war veteran social networks in the land occupations in 2000, which eventually led to the formalisation of FTLRP in 2001. The chapter argued that, judging from the continuation of the unresolved land question, dating as far back as the early 1890s, and the ineffectiveness of the early land reform programme of the 1980s to the 1990s, FTLRP was inevitable. Special emphasis was laid on the wide gap in academic literature on the outcomes of FTLRP resulting from too much attention on the physical outcomes of the programme and less on the non-material and social outcomes.

The first section of the chapter discussed the war veteran-led land occupations in 2000 and the formalisation of FTLRP in 2001. It stressed the importance of social capital of the war veterans and its role in the success of the occupations. FTLRP models of implementation, land allocation trends and the extent of land redistribution through FTLRP were covered. The second section discussed problems of limited post-settlement support in FTLRP farms such as inadequate social infrastructure and services. It pointed to the emergence of social networks especially in A1 farms, in response to these challenges; a perfect example of beneficiaries using their social capital to tackle communal problems. Beneficiaries' maintenance of links with their previous places of residence to access various services, dynamics of labour in FTLRP farms, as well as women's access to land, were also the focus of this section. The last section explored contested debates on the outcomes of FTLRP. The critics of the programme largely portray FTLRP as a failure. The supporters on the other hand, argue that FTLRP had substantial positive benefits.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **The Role of Social Networks in the Land Occupations in Zimbabwe: A Case of Rouxdale (Remaining Extent) Farm**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the role of social networks in the land occupation of Rouxdale (R/E) farm in 2000. It argues that, just as in many parts of the country (Sadomba, 2013; Marongwe, 2003; Moyo and Yeros, 2005), a war veteran-led social network played an important role in the land occupation of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Even though the network accommodated non-war veteran members, the overall unifying factor was acquiring land, therefore showing the strength of social capital in achieving collective goals (Putnam et al., 1993; Field, 2003). The network was weakened after land allocation due to the imposition of local government structures that took over the role of social organisation on the farm. Other smaller family networks were also instrumental in acquiring reallocated land in 2003. Central to this chapter is the importance of land as an asset, as evidenced by the resilience of the beneficiaries to acquire it. This reignited the sentiments of the land question, which had been largely unresolved since independence in 1980 (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Marongwe, 2003).

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on methods adopted by beneficiaries to acquire land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It highlights the role of the war veteran-led network in the land occupation and allocation. The fact that most beneficiaries acquired land through this network in 2000 clearly illustrates the strength and importance of social capital in achieving collective goals. Other beneficiaries acquired reallocated land in 2003 through family social networks, also known as bonding social (Putnam, 2000).

The second section briefly discusses the weakness of the A1 model which has been largely portrayed as successful in academic literature. It shows that the imposition of top-down local government structures soon after land was allocated, as is the requirement with all A1 villages, dissolved the war veteran-led network that successfully coordinated land occupations. These structures took over the role of social organisation. Thus, social networks can be weakened after a common goal has been achieved.

## **5.2 How beneficiaries acquired land**

### **5.2.1 Formation of the war veteran-led social network**

In 2000, a war veteran-led group of people invaded Rouxdale (R/E) farm. This group was composed of men and women, war veterans and non-war veterans. It is not clear as to when exactly in 2000 because members of the DLC and beneficiaries gave different dates of when the invasions actually happened. They found Mr. Venebull, his workers and his cattle. They settled in an abandoned structure located near the dip, which was close to the main road, which they called “the base.” As noted in the previous chapter, war veterans were largely at the forefront of land occupations, and their networks accommodated non-war veteran people from various locations and classes (Sadomba, 2013; Chaumba et al., 2003a; Moyo and Yeros, 2005). The establishment of “bases” was a common feature of land occupations across the country (Chaumba et al., 2003a; Marongwe, 2003; Masuko, 2013).

A careful analysis of the formation of the group, especially its core component of war veterans, displays signs of social capital. Putnam et al. (1993:167) define social capital as “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam et al., 1993:167). They stress that social networks utilise past successes as a point of reference for tackling new goals in the future (Putnam et al., 1993). They argue that networks without a history of association struggle to build strong relationships based on trust (Putnam et al., 1993).

War veterans’ friendships dated back to the years of liberation struggle in the 1970s. Throughout the interviews, they referred to each other as comrades, a term derived from the liberation struggle. As highlighted by Putnam et al. (1993) above, their historical connection was the fiber that strengthened their relationships and held them together through trust. Most of the war veterans interviewed lived in Nkulumane Township, District 7 in the city of Bulawayo, before obtaining land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. While in the Township, they attended regular war veteran meetings, where they discussed various issues including the redistribution of land. It is from these interactions in the township that trust was established, and this is an important element of social capital (Putnam et al., 1993).

During war veteran meetings in Nkulumane, they agreed on which farms to invade as a group in Bubi District (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015). One of the war veterans would provide transport to his comrades on weekend visits to Rouxdale B and Rouxdale (R/E)

bases. This shows that, even before the land occupations, there was already trust among these war veterans, which is an essential aspect of social capital.

This group of war veteran comrades had tried to invade farms in other Districts before Rouxdale (R/E) farm without any success. They did not acquire land for various reasons which will not be discussed here. The non-war veteran beneficiaries also had stories of failed prior attempts of securing land in other areas before settling on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. The persistence of beneficiaries to acquire land even after previous failed attempts shows that land was a critical asset in their lives. This was a time when the country was undergoing economic decline and a crisis of multiple dimensions (Bond and Manyanya, 2002; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2006).

The District Land Committee (DLC) representatives provided war veterans with all necessary information regarding the expected manner of conduct during the occupations. War veterans were therefore well informed about the farms identified for redistribution through the FTLRP and the white farmers occupying them. They were also aware of ongoing changes of the District Land Committee (DLC) plans. For instance, all beneficiaries had initially invaded Rouxdale B farm. After gathering information about the specific number of people who would be allocated land on Rouxdale B farm, the required number of people remained there. The rest of the people moved to Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Coleman (1990) stresses that the flow of ideas and knowledge (information) in social networks facilitates the implementation of collective goals. Thus, information provided by the DLC, was useful in making strategic decisions concerning land occupation.

The occupation of the Rouxdale (R/E) farm was not violent, as was the case in Mhondoro-Ngezi (Mkodzongi, 2013a). This was contrary to farm invasions in other parts of the country where land occupations were of a violent nature (Chaumba et al., 2003a). The timing of the land occupations in Matabeleland Provinces contributed to the absence of violence on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. One DLC officer explained that land occupations started later in Matabeleland than in other parts of the country after the DLC structures had been established. Since there had been lessons learnt from experiences of land occupations in other parts of the country, the occupations were more organised. He said:

So you find that as the land occupations were going on, there was a team that was created at District level. In this team we had also officials that were involved, so the groups of our people that would go into a farm, would not allocate land to themselves without the officials... in large parts, people did not go in as a crowd on their own, but it was organised (Interview with a land officer, 30 July 2014).

As noted in the previous chapter, Moyo (2011b) and Alexander and McGregor (2001) point to Matabeleland Provinces war veterans' allegiance to the opposition MDC party and their resentment of ZANU PF as possible explanations for the delay in the onset of the occupations by war veterans.

A strict code of conduct was required of the war veteran-led network during the occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. They were prohibited from disturbing the operation of the white farmers, failing which they would face arrest. The white farmers were also not allowed to tamper with those who invaded their land peacefully (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015). The fact that Mr. Venebull was renting the farm during the invasion probably minimised tensions with land occupiers. The fact that he did not own the land could have dampened any motive to violently resist land occupiers. The farm still belonged to the Kenmap Farm (Private) Limited at the onset of land occupations.

More measures were undertaken by DLC authorities to minimise violence during land occupations. For instance, those who invaded the land were expected to establish leadership for smooth coordination. As was the case in other parts of the country (Sadomba, 2013; Masuko, 2013), a war veteran leader, also known as the base commander, and a committee were elected. According to Masuko (2013), non-war veterans were only elected into these leadership structures by war veterans based on trust built through previous association, and this was rare. This also did not happen at the onset of the occupations, but later, after these non-war veteran members had established trusting relationships with war veterans (Masuko, 2013).

The base commander died soon after the official land allocation and could not be accessed for interviews. He was a medium of communication between the white farmer and beneficiaries. This was done to protect those at the base through avoiding conflict and violence. Beneficiary 5 sums up the key role of the base commander:

He was the one who addressed the white man during the time of land occupations...we did not want to engage the white farmer on any conversation. We would tell him to speak to our leader. We were afraid that one of us would say something amiss which would create conflict because we had been instructed that if we created any conflict with the white man the farm would be taken away from us (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 19 May 2015).

The above quotation is a perfect example of norms, which are a core element of social capital. Coleman (1990) notes that these norms provide protection of shared interests of social networks from outside influence and also reinforce common goals. This is captured by Beneficiary 5 above. While the study acknowledges the involvement of the DLC in the land occupations, it argues that the strength of the social network and its inherent social capital had a much bigger contribution to the success of this process.

All land occupiers would report to the base commander if they needed to leave the base temporarily for any particular reason. The base commander kept a membership list, which would be presented to the DLC on the day of land allocation. He also kept the map and historical documents of the farm and other relevant documentation which he shared with the rest of the group (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 19 May 2015). Other war veterans also had this information gathered from their meetings in Bulawayo. For instance, it was known to the land occupiers that Mr. Venebull did not own that farm (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 27 May 2015). The base commander was also responsible for surveying the land and monitoring the movement of the white farmer to ensure the security of network members. In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, Mr. Venebull's farm workers, who were also interested in acquiring land, provided information about the farmer and his plans (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 19 May 2015).

Not everybody was always at the base. Those who were formally employed in Bulawayo hired representatives who lived at the base on their behalf. Most of the people were present at the base during the weekends. This is the time when those who were employed during the week made themselves available. Everybody's presence in the base, though at various times, ensured that members' names remained on the list. Those who were unemployed were also present at the base during weekends (Interview with Beneficiary 6, 28 May 2015). They made sure that there was always somebody at the base. Beneficiary 7 emphasised that "whenever some of us were away, others would remain behind. We would exchange. We communicated well amongst ourselves." (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015). This

constant communication maintained strong relationships among members of the social network, as expected for the survival of social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990). Their agreed code of conduct (norms) facilitated smooth coordination. Coleman (1990) notes that norms also assist in the creation of strong relationships. They facilitate the building of solidarity in communities (Field, 2003).

All land occupiers contributed towards food in various ways. Food was shared amongst everyone. Those not present at the base due to work commitments brought food supplies to the base to maintain their commitment of remaining part of the group. Beneficiary 8 noted that this contribution qualified members to remain on the list of land occupiers which would be presented to DLC officials on the day of land allocation (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 19 May 2015). Beneficiary 17, a war veteran who was in South Africa during the time of land occupations, also provided food for people in the base to maintain his name on the list (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 20 May 2015). Sometimes land occupiers contributed money to purchase food which they would cook and share (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015). The base commander coordinated these contributions (Interview with Beneficiary 18, 20 May 2015). These were some of the norms of the social network which encouraged togetherness and solidarity while working towards a common goal (Coleman, 1990; Putnam et al., 1993). Norms are an essential component of social capital (Coleman, 1990).

In response to land occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, Mr. Venebull closed his store, which had been serving surrounding communities. It was not difficult to evict him from the land since he did not own it. According to beneficiaries, he secretly left the farm without informing the base commander. The base commander had requested a meeting with him, but he disappeared before the meeting (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 3 June 2014). This is an example of the productivity of social capital, which makes possible the achievement of goals that are not attainable at individual level (Coleman, 1990).

### **5.2.2 Official land allocation on Rouxdale (R/E) Farm**

The District Administrator (DA), District Development Fund (DDF) and Ministry of Lands were responsible for land allocation, as representatives of the DLC. They were assisted by war veteran leaders. The process was facilitated by the DA, who initially requested a list of people living at the base from the base commander. She emphasised that land would be allocated only to people who had been living at the base (Interview with Beneficiary 10, 26

May 2015). According to the DA, nineteen people would be allocated land on the farm. These would consist of civilians, police and soldiers (Interview with Beneficiary 3, 27 May 2015). Nineteen people were chosen from the base commander's list. Two more people who were soldiers were added to the list by the DA and DLC representatives, bringing the total to twenty-one beneficiaries (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 19 May 2015). The two soldiers were not part of the social network, but present on the day of allocation.

A simple process of land allocation was undertaken, which involved the DA writing numbers on small pieces of paper (from one to twenty-one) to represent all residential plots. These were placed in a container from which each beneficiary would pick one. These would be their residential plot numbers to be used for land allocation. The residential land was allocated in the order of the number on the pieces of paper. Thus, the person who picked a piece of paper with number 1, was the first to be allocated a piece of land, and the one who picked 21 was the last to be allocated a piece of land. Beneficiary 7 narrated this process:

They tore small pieces of paper and wrote numbers on them and they were put inside a container. So we were asked to pick the papers with numbers, and that would be your number for your residential plot (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015).

Using a tape measure, the officials, together with the war veterans, measured land allocated for residential plots, and this was done sequentially. The size of each homestead is 0.5 hectares. Pegs were dug into the ground to demarcate the land. Five residential plots were pegged by the DA and her team on that day. The rest were pegged by war veterans following the model and measurements shown by the DLC. The 0.5 hectares was supposed to be divided into two sections, one to build the homestead and the other one for garden use.

If a beneficiary was allocated unfavourable land, they reported this to war veterans responsible for pegging land in order to be reallocated another residential plot on the farm. Beneficiary 15 explained: "We were told that if you find a piece that was full of stones, where it would be difficult to build, you would then tell the chairman and they would have to change for you" (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014). Beneficiary 10 confirmed this, as one of the beneficiaries who had initially been given a portion of land that was too stony and swampy, which he refused, and was reallocated another plot (Interview with Beneficiary 10, 26 May 2015).



During fieldwork, it emerged that some beneficiaries received larger portions of land than others. Beneficiary 14 and Beneficiary 7 had a gap between their residential plots after somebody abandoned the land. They agreed among themselves to share that piece of land therefore enlarging their residential plots. Both Beneficiary 14 and Beneficiary 7 explained that they approached the authorities before sharing the gap of land between their residential plots but they did not have proof. On Rouxdale (R/E) farm, there was a strict manner of measuring land allocated to beneficiaries. It is possible that these beneficiaries managed to share that piece of land because one of them was part of the local authority structures who had networks within the DLC, otherwise that would not have been possible.

A month after the allocation of land to beneficiaries, the DA and her team returned to allocate arable plots for crop production. Each beneficiary was allocated three hectares of arable land. Those who were present on the day of allocation received arable plots close to their residential plots. Those who were absent were allocated arable plots further from their residential plots (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 19 May 2015). This is evident on the land use map of Rouxdale (R/E) farm shown in Figure 2 in Chapter One, section 1.4.1, and from interviews with some beneficiaries. The rest of the land became communal grazing land.

### **5.2.3 Other methods of land allocation at the Rouxdale (R/E) Farm**

Beneficiary 17, who was a war veteran, acquired land on the day of allocation in his absence through his relationship with war veterans who formed the core of the network. He was in Johannesburg on the day of land allocation. This is despite the DA's emphasis that land would only be allocated to people who lived in the base and present on the day of allocation. This shows the strength of the war veteran-led social network in influencing the land allocation process. Beneficiary 17 narrated:

And so when the allocation started here, they phoned me and told me that since I was also contributing money and also overalls for the comrades that were here, land would be pegged on such a day. I asked them to pick a number for me, which they did and then phoned me and told me that they have picked a residential plot number for me and this is where I am now (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014).

Beneficiary 17 further described the strength of the friendships of war veterans who led the land occupations and how these facilitated his access to land. He said:

Beneficiary 7 helped me secure this land because we were comrades and we will always be comrades all the time. We were together in the war, in Nkulumane, in Marula and finally here as well. We lived close together in Nkulumane Township, Bulawayo (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014).

This is an illustration of historical connections being used as social capital, highlighted by Putnam et al. (1993). It is through this strong network that war veterans manipulated the system of land allocation to support each other. It depicts the view of the critics of social capital, who argue that social networks have unequal power relations (Poder, 2011; Foley and Edwards, 1999). This means that those with more power within networks have more benefits and influence than those with less power (Poder, 2011; Foley and Edwards, 1999). In this case, the war veterans had more power, than other non-war veteran members of the network, to influence decisions.

While Beneficiary 17 acquired land through the war veteran-led social network, Beneficiary 3, a non-war veteran, did not acquire land on the day of official land allocation. Just like Beneficiary 17, he continually supported members of the network at the base with food to ensure that his name remained on the list. Unlike Beneficiary 17, Beneficiary 3 was present on the day of the allocation of land. He narrated that:

So when the DA came to launch the farm I was there...my name which had been first in the list had been moved further to the end... I did not get the land and they told me that they have put soldiers (Interview with Beneficiary 3, 27 May 2015).

Beneficiary 3 only acquired land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm four months later after one of the beneficiaries surrendered their land. Beneficiary 3 could not benefit from the social network of land occupiers at the base because he was not a war veteran. He, unlike Beneficiary 17, was not part of the high level of trust in the strong relationships of war veterans, known as “thick trust” (Putnam, 2000:136). He was not part of the war veterans’ historical friendship that was established in the liberation struggle, neither was he part of the community of Nkulumane Township where these relations were solidified. Even though he was part of the social network and fulfilled all the norms required, he did not immediately acquire land. Therefore, Beneficiary 3 falls in the category of what Putnam (2003:136) calls “thin trust” which is weaker and not based on frequent interaction. War veterans thus used their power to side-line Beneficiary 3 on the day of land allocation, while favouring Beneficiary 17, whom they trusted. This confirms unequal power relations within social networks, which influence unequal access to resources (Poder, 2011).

Of the twenty-one beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, not everybody remained on the land. The three farmworkers who had been providing land occupiers with inside information about the white farmers' plans all received land. This is unlike many cases in Zimbabwe where most former farmworkers did not acquire land under the FTLRP. Magaramombe (2010) and Chambati (2013) discuss various displacements of former farm workers who lost employment and did not acquire land through the FTLRP. Most sought refuge in urban and communal areas, informal settlements, while others remained in farmworker compounds (Chambati, 2013; Magaramombe, 2010).

Of the three farmworkers who acquired land, one died, and another gave up his land because of lack of resources. This is understandable in consideration of their meagre salaries, the farmworker did not have the financial capacity to invest on the land without adequate post-settlement support. The third one also gave up his land after securing another piece of land in a nearby farm. This shows that some of the farmworkers were actively involved in seeking land. It is possible that this farmworker acquired land in the nearby farm using his social networks, since these seem to be instrumental in accessing land through the FTLRP. Their land was reallocated to other people.

Fieldwork data showed that, in 2003, beneficiaries who had failed to build structures on their residential plots to illustrate their commitment of investing on the land, were replaced by others. Some of these beneficiaries used their families as social capital for getting the land. This is an example of bonding social capital, which is restricted to closely knitted groups such as families (Putnam et al., 1993; Putnam, 2000). Beneficiary 4 heard from her young brother, who was a beneficiary of the Rouxdale (R/E) farm, about a piece of land that had been abandoned by a previous beneficiary in 2003. After approaching the Village Head who wrote her a letter of recommendation to the District Administrator's office, she was allocated land (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). Beneficiary 9's husband also secured land in a similar manner. Through family networks with one of the local authorities, he got an opportunity to replace a previous beneficiary who had failed to build a homestead by 2003 (Interview with Beneficiary 9, 21 May 2015).

Beneficiary 16 did not acquire land through a social network even though she was a war veteran. She obtained land through formal channels. She approached the DA offices looking for a piece of land and was directed to the Village Head of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. The Village

Head discussed the matter with relevant authorities and Beneficiary 16 was allocated land that had been abandoned by a previous beneficiary. This was in 2003 (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014). Soon after she had built a house on the land, the previous owner, who had been believed to have died, returned and claimed her land. After several conflicts with the previous owner, local leaders suggested creating an extra residential plot for Beneficiary 16 so that the original beneficiary could return to her land. Beneficiary 16 refused to move from the land. She explained: “I stood my ground and told them that I am not going anywhere. I am permanent. I was given this land by the Village Head and the committee so I was not prepared to be involved in any changes” (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014). The previous owner then asked Beneficiary 16 to compensate her financially for the little investment she had made in clearing the land for the homestead. After Beneficiary 16 paid the compensation, the previous owner agreed to be reallocated another piece of land on the farm by the local authorities. Consequently, Rouxdale farm (R/E) farm ended up with twenty-two beneficiaries.

The researcher also interviewed Beneficiary 13, a wife of a farmworker for a white farmer who had occupied Rouxdale (R/E) farm before Mr. Venebull rented it. Beneficiary 13 narrated that her husband was a cattle foreman for the white farmer and they lived as a family on the land, together with their children. She claimed that, when the white farmer moved back to Durban, he gave her husband a piece of land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm on the side where FTLRP residential plots were pegged. She narrated:

When our white employers were moving back, they gave my husband a piece of land, this part that has been resettled. They told him to live here and not to move his cattle because they would die (Interview with Beneficiary 13, 21 May 2015).

Her son, Beneficiary 1, who concurred with his mother, said:

We left here in 1996, and the white man that my father worked for left here in 1995. His name was Mr. Akek. He had butchery at the airport. They left in 1995 and left us here. When they were leaving they said since the farm is too big, they would not leave it to my father because he was not going to be able to maintain it, so they decided to rent part of it to Mr. Venebull. So they said we will cut you a piece of this land where you will live. So they gave him a portion from the store up to the bridge, at the Dingaan boundary (Interview with Beneficiary 1, 25 May 2015).

Beneficiary 13 and her son (Beneficiary 1) claimed that they lived behind the building which was used as a store by Mr. Venebull during that time. At the period of fieldwork, the store was being operated by local stakeholders who acquired land in the nearby Rouxdale B farm.

Beneficiary 13 and Beneficiary 1 claimed that the farmer gave them the store before he left for South Africa.

Mr. Venebull evicted them from the land. He ordered Beneficiary 13's husband to find another place to live. Beneficiary 1 further narrated:

So my father found a place in Silobela and told the white man. The white man brought some trucks and moved all my father's property and livestock and took us there and built my father a three- roomed house. When we moved there his cattle started dying because we were in a Reserve (Interview with Beneficiary 1, 25 May 2015).

The fact that his cattle died when they were moved to communal areas (former Reserves) confirms the harsh conditions of most Reserves established by the colonial government, discussed in Chapter Three (Moyana, 1984; Arrighi, 1970). It proves that, even in areas of dry agro-ecological conditions like Matabeleland North, where Rouxdale (R/E) is located, white capitalist farmers selected best portions of land suitable for livestock ranching.

When war veterans invaded Rouxdale (R/E) farm, they ensured that Beneficiary 13's husband was allocated land. Beneficiary 13 explained:

War veterans, after hearing that we had been moved out of the land by force, looked for my husband after they had removed this white man who lived here. They asked him to come (Interview with Beneficiary 13, 21 May 2015).

Her husband, just like Beneficiary 17, was not present on the day of official allocation of land because war veterans were still searching for him. When he was found, he and his family returned to the farm. War veterans had found a representative for him on the day of land allocation to pick a residential plot number on his behalf. He died while he was still building his homestead and was buried on Rouxdale (R/E) farm (Interview with Beneficiary 13, 21 May 2015). The fact that Beneficiary 13's husband, who was not part of the social network of land occupiers, acquired land, shows the strength of the war veterans in influencing who obtained land. It also confirms unequal power relations within social networks highlighted by critics of social capital, and their influence on unequal access to network resources (Poder, 2011).

Beneficiary 13's late husband did not have any title deed to prove that the land belonged him. This was confirmed by the Deeds Office archives (Deeds Office, 2014). According to

Beneficiary 13, when the white man who had employed her husband left, he was sick. He had promised to return and organise title deeds for them after recovering. He never returned (Interview with Beneficiary 13, 21 May 2015). She admitted that this is the basis on which Mr. Venebull evicted them from the land. Even though they did not have a title deed for the land, Beneficiary 13 and Beneficiary 1's belief that part of the Rouxdale (R/E) farm and the store belonged to them shaped their experiences of life on the farm.

It is evident here that belonging to a social network was the most efficient means of acquiring land. Some acquired land through the war veteran-led network. The network had two levels; those who formed the core, that is, the war veterans, and the non-war veterans. The stories of Beneficiary 17 (war veteran) and Beneficiary 3 (non-war veteran) show how the network functioned such that it favoured those from its core, whose friendship was longer and stronger, while sidelining those who were not part of the core. Two levels of trust are evident in the two components of the social network which also determined the strength of social capital of its members. Even those who acquired land in 2003 used bonding social capital a source of information useful for acquiring land. This means that it would be difficult access land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm without participation in social networks.

### **5.3 Absence of the local chief**

In some parts of the country, chiefs collaborated with the war veteran networks during the land occupations (Mkodzongi, 2013b), while in particular locations, they played a leading role (Moyo et al., 2009). This was not the case with Rouxdale (R/E) farm. The local chief was not involved in the land occupations and allocation process, and thus had no control on who acquired land and how it was distributed, even though he was part of the District Land Committee. This lack of power and authority in land occupations was evident in some of the beneficiaries' comments. When Beneficiary 3 approached him to request his assistance to acquire land, the chief said: "now we do not have any power, the power is with the war veterans" (Interview with Beneficiary 3, 27 May 2015). A land official concurred that "during that time white commercial farms were not under the chief's jurisdiction. Their authority was limited to Reserves (communal areas)" (Interview with land official, 22 May 2015). According to beneficiaries, the chief came to occupy land on Rouxdale B farm after all beneficiaries had been settled on the land.

All beneficiaries were aware of the presence of the chief as part of their governing structure. However, only one highlighted having reported a grievance to him. The rest did not mention any encounter with the chief in addressing their challenges on the farm. All beneficiaries grew up in the communal areas under the authority of various chieftainships. One would have expected them to have some affinity for the chief. However, since most lived in the city for many years after independence, it is possible that the urban influence disconnected them from the value of traditional authorities.

#### **5.4 Weakness of the A1 villagised model**

FTLRP models (both A1 and A2) were challenged by Mabhena (2013) who stressed that they did not cater for the pastoral needs of Matabeleland Provinces which are located in a fairly dry agro-ecological area suitable for extensive farming and livestock rearing (Mabhena, 2013). He argued that people in Matabeleland expected a resettlement model that would provide more grazing land and emphasised livestock rearing (Mabhena, 2013). He therefore concluded that FTLRP did not contribute much to agrarian livelihoods in his study of Matabeleland South (Mabhena, 2014; Mabhena, 2013).

Mabhena (2013)'s findings did not resonate with outcomes of Rouxdale (R/E) farm where beneficiaries appreciated having arable plots for crop production despite the fairly dry agro-ecological conditions. In fact, access to arable plots provided them with a livelihood, and this is the subject of Chapter Seven. Furthermore, they did not have much livestock, therefore Mabhena (2013)'s suggestion for a livestock rearing model would have led to underutilisation of land. This chapter stresses that the local governance structure in the A1 villagised farms which contributed to weakening social capital, is a much bigger problem of the A1 villagised model.

The imposition of local governance structures on Rouxdale (R/E) farm contributed significantly to the weakening of the war veteran-led network responsible for land occupations. As in all A1 villages across the country, the Village Head, Village Development Committee (VIDCO), Ward Councillor representing the Rural District Council (RDC), Ward Development Committee (WADCO), ZANU PF Chairman for the Ward and the local Chief were the government structures present on Rouxdale (R/E) farm and in Ward 14 in general. Other structures present were the veterinary and extension officers.

As noted in Chapter Four section 4.4.3, the VIDCO structure is a selected group of representative beneficiaries with the responsibility of addressing different development needs of A1 villages (Murisa, 2009). On Rouxdale (R/E) farm, VIDCO divided beneficiaries into different sub-committees with various responsibilities regarding the general development of the village and management of communal resources, such as grazing land and social infrastructure. The functioning of VIDCO portrays the villagised model's intention to strengthen social capital among beneficiaries. However, VIDCO sub-committees took over the war veteran-led network's role of social organisation, which had successfully coordinated land occupations. This weakened the network, because it was no longer possible to cultivate relationships after the subdivisions imposed by the government structures. Thus, if social network relationships are not nourished, they dissolve (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990). The VIDCO structure did not have the capacity to address all developmental problems on Rouxdale (R/E) farm due to various constraints. This saw the emergence of other social networks with the aim of addressing various collective challenges on the farm, and this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the role of social networks in the land occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It argued that, as in other parts of the country, a war veteran-led network played a key role in the land occupations on the farm. In fact, most beneficiaries acquired land in 2000 through the network therefore showing the value of social capital in achieving collective goals (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990). Family social networks, known as bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000), also played a key role in accessing reallocated land on the farm in 2003, thereby confirming the invaluable contribution of social capital. The chapter emphasised that the weakness of the A1 model, in particular the imposition of the top-down government structures, contributed significantly to the dissolution of the once very strong war veteran led network responsible for land occupations. The governance structures took over the network's main role of social organisation, making it difficult for beneficiaries to cultivate relationships previously established by the war veteran led network.



## CHAPTER SIX

### **Socio-economic backgrounds and differentiation of Rouxdale (R/E) farm beneficiaries**

#### **6. 1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the socio-economic backgrounds and differentiation of Rouxdale (R/E) farm beneficiaries. It provides detail on the origins of beneficiaries, their interest in land, and political affiliation, *inter alia*, with the aim of understanding land use decisions. Central to this chapter is the need to diversify livelihoods and create alternative livelihoods as the main motivation for land by many beneficiaries who previously lived in the city. The differentiation of beneficiaries using socio-economic indicators, income and asset ownership is another critical aspect of this chapter. The chapter argues that although beneficiaries were highly differentiated, they were united by the common goal of acquiring land through the war veteran-led network, therefore emphasising the value of social capital.

The chapter is split into three broad sections. The first section discusses the backgrounds of beneficiaries: where they originated, their interest in acquiring land, links with communal areas and their previous experience in subsistence farming. The section also discusses the gender composition of beneficiaries, illustrating that women also acquired land through the FTLRP. The political affiliation of beneficiaries is also discussed.

The second section analyses the differentiation of beneficiaries based on socio-economic characteristics. These include, first, level of education and employment backgrounds. Second, ownership of assets such as houses in the city or land in communal areas, ownership of cattle and ploughs. Third, income levels, including the ability to afford to hire a tractor for farming. Fourth, differentiated sources of labour and place of residency after acquiring land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. The last section focuses on the emerging classes of beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, emanating from various forms of differentiation. Three classes are identified, which are, upper middle peasants, lower middle peasants and poor peasants (Patnaik, 1976).

## 6.2 Origins of beneficiaries

Of the eighteen beneficiaries interviewed for this study, sixteen lived in a nearby urban area, the city of Bulawayo, and two were from Bubi District, a communal area, prior to obtaining land in 2000. See Table 2.

**Table 2: Place of origin of beneficiaries/Province of rural home**

Province of Rural Home	Urban area	Communal area	Total
Matabeleland South	7		7
Matabeleland North	6	2	8
Midlands	3		3
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>18</b>

Source: Author, drawn from interview data, Rouxdale (R/E) farm, 2014.

Most beneficiaries targeted farms which were located close to the city. This allowed them to simultaneously manage their jobs and day-to-day activities in the city and participate in land occupations. Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located thirty kilometers from Bulawayo, hence the dominant presence of urban beneficiaries. Other case studies in close proximity to major cities, such as the Goromonzi District located near Harare, also reported a high percentage of urbanites for similar reasons (Murisa, 2013).

Various studies have shown that urban dwellers were equally as interested in land as rural dwellers because of its various benefits. According to Masuko (2013:130), “urban people also felt deprived of a resource that was by birth theirs and land was not an issue only for rural peasants.” This is understandable, considering that lack of land affected various sectors of society, including urbanites. Most of them were also seeking to supplement their livelihoods through agricultural production (Moyo et al., 2009). As discussed in Chapter Three, when FTLRP started in 2000, Zimbabwe was experiencing a serious economic crisis (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004; Bond and Manyanya, 2002).

The combination of urban and rural based livelihoods is common in Zimbabwe and other African countries. During the colonial period, economically active men were employed in mines and farms while the rest of the family remained cultivating land in the Reserves (Riddell, 1978; Arrighi, 1970). The trend continued even after independence. Most people

maintained links with rural areas where they accessed agricultural produce to supplement food in the cities (Potts, 2011), This is also common in Sub-Saharan Africa (Tacoli, 2002).

Other urban based beneficiaries' interest in land was a search for an alternative livelihood altogether, because of the high cost of living in Bulawayo. Beneficiary 12 expressed the following:

When you are in the rural areas, you do not use a lot of money; you can spend a month with a dollar in your pocket and have no need to spend it. But in the city, I buy bread daily. In the rural area, you will never hear my grandchild saying that they want bread. In the morning we eat porridge in the rural area and have bread made out of maize meal; we can even make *sadza* for ourselves if we want. We have food from the fields. (Interview with Beneficiary 12, 28 May 2015).

Beneficiary 18 concurred with Beneficiary 12 stating that “when I was in the city things were hard because from the time the sun comes up until it sets I needed to use money to purchase everything” (Interview with Beneficiary 18, 20 May 2015). It is clear from these interviews that the high cost of living in the urban area meant that people preferred relocating to a rural setting where the cost of living would be lower, hence the need for land.

### **6.2.1 Beneficiaries' interest in land**

Besides the need for a livelihood and supplementing livelihoods, there were other motivations for acquiring land. War veterans wanted to be rewarded for their participation in the liberation struggle, whose main motivation was to redress the inequitable distribution of land by the colonial government. Beneficiary 7 stated: “the basis of the war was to acquire land and nothing else, we expected to then get farms after the war but this did not happen” (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 3 June 2014). Beneficiary 14 concurred, saying:

We wanted the land, that is what we wanted and nothing else. We knew that if we acquire land we would practice farming and live a better life rather than to just live in an area that is not good for farming. What were we going to eat? And what were we going to give our children? (Interview with Beneficiary 14, 21 May 2015).

Beneficiary 14's response captures Zimbabweans' view of the importance of land as a source of livelihood. Most war veterans also discussed the poor working conditions in colonial mines and farms, which fuelled their desire to regain their lost land. This confirms the dominant view in literature that reallocation of land was the top priority of the Zimbabwean liberation movement discussed in Chapter Three (Moyana, 1984).

Most beneficiaries view a rural home as an asset that gives them a sense of belonging, even though some owned houses in the city of Bulawayo. According to Potts (2011:594), “it is common in Zimbabwe for people to regard their rural birthplaces as ‘home’ and urban dwellings mere ‘houses’ in most literature on migration in the country.” Beneficiary 8, who owned a house in the city, wanted a rural home where she would have control of her activities, unlike in her mother in law’s home where she had no control. She also needed land that she could pass to the next generation when she died. Scoones et al. (2010) also discuss the motivation of acquiring land to pass on to the next generation in the case of FTLRP in Masvingo. Beneficiary 8 said:

I am not free when I visit my in-laws in their rural home. I needed a place where I am also in charge. So when the issue of fast track started, we were also one of the first people to come and look for land. I wanted to have something of my own. So that when I die my children will have the house in town as well as this home here and not have to go to their grandmother (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 9 July 2014).

In the case of Beneficiary 11, the desire for a place of belonging emanated from the fact that he did not own land in the communal areas or a house in the city. He said: “It started when I used to work for others as a farmworker, then I had a wish to also have my own land where I can farm for the benefit of my own family” (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 3 June 2014).

Other beneficiaries, especially the elderly, stressed the need for a place of retirement even though they had houses in the city. According to Beneficiary 10, a retired war veteran, who also owned a house in the city:

I am grown up and I have found a place to retire and live with my children. I never used to spend time with them because I was always at work (Interview with Beneficiary 10, 9 June 2014).

Beneficiary 16, who was a retired soldier and owned a house in the city, agreed with Beneficiary 10, highlighting that the ZANU PF government encouraged them to acquire land for retirement purposes. She related: “Before I left my job, we were told that we should not be homeless, and we were advised to find some land so it ended up being a must for us to acquire land. So I came and looked for the land and found it here” (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014). The instances above reiterate the general notion that a real home for most people is a rural home.

One of the beneficiaries who used to practice urban farming to supplement their livelihood because of the economic crisis, needed more secure land for farming. She stated: “While I lived in the city, I used to farm in the bush and people would steal my produce. So I needed a bigger place for farming where I would have no problems of theft” (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014). This confirms Potts (2011)’s view that people in urban areas needed land to access agricultural produce as a source of livelihood. Even though beneficiaries had different backgrounds, the desire to acquire land was a common goal that brought them together.

Another beneficiary’s interest in land emanated from his studies in agriculture and the exposure he had through agricultural tours. He described:

My area of specialisation is farming. Besides, when I was doing tours while I was in Agri-College and saw the kind of life that the white people were living in the farms, it inspired me. They had a very good life. And when I was looking for the land, the things that I saw in the large farms impressed me a lot (Interview with Beneficiary 3, 27 May 2015).

The reasons for acquiring land are diverse. While most beneficiaries were interested in obtaining land, a few women shared their initial lack of interest concerning issues of land. Beneficiary 2’s husband wanted a piece of land but she was uninterested. She said, “So my husband is the one who pushed until we ended up here in the farm” (Interview with Beneficiary 2, 2 June 2014). She further explained:

It is just that I was not interested and I did not want to come and live in the rural areas. My husband is the one who used to come here up until I said to myself that I have to support what my husband wants (Interview with Beneficiary 2, 2 June 2014).

Beneficiary 5, who also was initially uninterested in her husband’s pursuit for land, narrated her story:

I did not want to live in rural areas because I grew up in the rural areas. I did not want. So I felt that I was oppressed in the rural areas growing up with all that work so I wanted to live in the city. But my husband wanted to live here in the rural areas so he left me to come and camp here... I then came and followed him. My neighbours warned me that, while I relax in the city, my husband will marry another wife (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 3 June 2014).

These are the stories of the few women who initially had no interest in obtaining land through the FTLRP. According to Beneficiary 5, living in a rural area was associated with long hours of hard labour, compared to life in the city. These stories show how the patriarchal system

determined some decisions for women concerning issues of land. These women could not make their own decisions about acquiring land but were forced to do so by their marital obligations.

### **6.2.2 Links with communal areas**

All beneficiaries who lived in Bulawayo before receiving land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, maintained links with various communal areas in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces. This is where they grew up before moving to the city for employment opportunities, which is a characteristic of most people in the country. Potts (2001) discusses this rural-urban movement as a means of supplementing rural livelihoods with remittances from urban areas, and vice versa. Beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm still visited their families in communal areas and the city on a regular basis. This rural-urban movement is a common feature in Africa. According to Tacoli (2002:1), “linkages between urban and rural areas include flows of people, of goods, of money and of information, as well as other social transactions that are central to social, cultural and economic transformation.” The fact that Tacoli (2002)’s study focuses on Sub-Saharan Africa shows that these linkages are not peculiar to Zimbabwe.

In contrast to findings by Mabhena (2014) on the Matabeleland South Province, which reported that most beneficiaries of the FTLRP were from other provinces outside Matabeleland, most beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm were from Matabeleland Provinces. Seven beneficiaries were from Matabeleland North Province in the Nkayi, Bubi and Tsholotsho Districts, with two of them living in communal areas prior to acquiring land. Eight beneficiaries came from Kezi, Insiza, Gwanda and Beitbridge Districts in Matabeleland South Province. Three beneficiaries were from Kwekwe District in the Midlands Province.

### **6.2.3 Previous experience in subsistence farming**

Because they grew up in communal areas, most beneficiaries had experience in subsistence farming which they practiced as a major livelihood. Beneficiary 17 said:

I would follow my grandfather where he had taken cattle for pasture. There are cattle that I shepherded myself from sub A until I got clever. I used to take care of 95 cattle and we had 6 donkeys and my grandmother’s goats (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 20 May 2015).

Beneficiary 12 also narrated her experience:

We did farming, especially sweet potatoes, sorghum, millet, maize. When we were planting our crops such as maize we did it in a straight line. My father had a rope and one of us would hold it on one end and the other on that end and we would use it to straighten the lines when planting the seeds. The girls would cultivate the field while boys reared livestock (Interview with Beneficiary 12, 28 May 2015).

Beneficiary 11, who was inspired by his father to love farming, expressed:

I was inspired to be a farmer by my father who used to win prizes at agricultural shows and things like that. My father grew maize and vegetables, especially tomatoes. Our living was from there and we went to school with proceeds from farming and I went to boarding school (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 22 May 2015).

Beneficiary 4 also related:

My father was a builder and a farmer during the time of the white people. During that time they were called master farmers. He had done some training in agriculture and building in Domboshava in Harare. He is the one who made us love farming and we learnt a lot from him. I also then wished that I could engage in farming one day even though I do not have a certificate like my father (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015).

One beneficiary practiced urban farming in Bulawayo before obtaining land in 2000. She explained: “We used to have our small farms near the cemetery. During those days when there was a shortage of mealie-meal in the shops, I used to take my maize to the grinding mill to get my mealie meal” (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014). This shows that land is critical even for urban dwellers, particularly for providing an alternative livelihood in the context of an economic crisis. The fact that this beneficiary could not survive without supplementing her livelihood from urban farming also shows that she was part of the urban poor. What can be drawn from these responses is that, in cases where the economy is ailing, land becomes the immediate means of livelihood support.

#### **6.2.4 Gender composition of beneficiaries**

According to Mutopo (2014a:200), before FTLRP, most women did not get individual titles to land due to “patriarchal relations” which were biased towards men. Most women therefore accessed land through marriage (Mutopo, 2014a). Only “five per cent” of black women owned land in “the previous resettlement areas and communal lands combined” (Moyo, 2011b:504). This shows the glaring disparities in access to land between men and women.

What Mutopo (2014a) describes is not peculiar to Zimbabwe. Many studies of Sub-Saharan Africa also emphasise women's limited access to land. Patriarchy has emerged as the dominant factor. Gray and Kevane (1999:18), for instance, argue that most women gain access to land through marriage and "these rights may end through divorce, widowhood and failure to have sons." They argue that women's rights over land were weakened by the variations in the costs of land (Gray and Kevane, 1999). They also stress that land rights "change when the meanings underlying rights change, or rights themselves are contested" (Gray and Kevane, 1999:21). Similar issues, which include women's land rights and how they have been disadvantaged in land access in Sub-Saharan Africa, are discussed in more detail by Whitehead and Tsikata (2003). This is generally a wider African problem as highlighted by Yngstrom (2002:24), who also argues that the fact that "gender is absent in the evolutionary models of land access" has disadvantaged women who have limited opportunities of getting individual rights to land.

The Rouxdale (R/E) farm case study provides a different picture from that presented by these African experiences. In the Rouxdale (R/E) farm land allocations, 8 of the twenty-two beneficiaries (36%) were women who obtained individual titles to land. FTLRP provided an opportunity for them to exercise their agency to access land, therefore defying the common trend that most women obtained access to land through marriage. In fact, one of the beneficiaries acquired access to land through his wife, who was a war veteran, meaning that men also accessed land through marriage, in this case. The percentage of women who acquired land individually is way above the "5 percent" national figure of women who owned land between the 1980s and the 1990s (Moyo, 2011b:504). It is also significantly above the national average of women who got land individually through FTLRP, which ranges from "12 percent to 18 per cent" (Moyo 2011:504). Even though the country has not yet reached a level of equality between men and women in terms of access to land, the study confirms that there was an improvement through FTLRP.

Of the eighteen beneficiaries interviewed for the study, ten were women, three of whom were war veterans. Seven women acquired their land through marriage contracts, while the three war veterans received land in their own right. Two of the women war veterans were divorced and one was a widow. This is in line with Mutopo (2011:1027)'s argument that most women who acquired individual titles to land through FTLTP were not married, but "single, divorced and widowed."



### **6.2.5 Political affiliation of beneficiaries**

Beneficiaries could not freely express their political affiliation because of fear of the ruling party. However, there is evidence that members of the opposition MDC party acquired land. This contradicts the view of critics of FTLRP, who argue that FTLRP excluded opposition supporters (Bond, 2008; Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003). One of the beneficiaries (who is not a war veteran) highlighted that part of the seed input provided by the government was a preserve of ZANU PF supporters only. He noted that he had never been included in the disbursement of that seed. Although he did not disclose in the interview that he supported the opposition party, his exclusion implied this.

During pilot interviews with beneficiaries from Rouxdale B farm, the researcher interviewed a married couple who openly declared their support for the MDC. They shared their experiences of being ostracised by the community because of their political affiliation. One of the land officials explained that some members of the ZANU PF ruling elite ensured that their friends from the opposition MDC party acquired land in Bubi District (Interview with land official, 30 October 2014). This indicates that people from the opposition MDC also received land (Moyo, 2011b; Mkodzongi, 2013a). In Mhondoro-Ngezi District, members of the opposition pretended to support ZANU PF as a strategy to access land (Mkodzongi, 2013a). It is possible that some beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm adopted a similar mechanism.

Seven of the beneficiaries interviewed were ZAPU war veterans. Belonging to the ZAPU political party in the liberation struggle and after independence emerged as a significant unifying element among the war veterans, especially those who were part of the social network responsible for land occupations. This was coupled with their quest for land, which they fought for in the liberation struggle. The historical friendship of war veterans who formed the core of the social network responsible for land occupation was an important element of social capital. What strengthened the common goal of the network's quest for land is that all of the war veterans interviewed did not own land in communal areas, and thus needed a piece land for livelihood since most of them had retired.

War veterans were not free to discuss issues concerning the ZANU PF ruling party. Most of them were free to share information about belonging to ZAPU and their involvement in the liberation struggle. There was silence about their relationship with ZANU PF, the party

which had given them land. There are three possible explanations. First, an element of fear of the government owing to its history of violence in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces in the 1980s which targeted ZAPU guerillas and the general population. This history is discussed in detail by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009). Alexander and McGregor (2001) also discuss the relationship between ZAPU war veterans and ZANU PF, and how it influenced the implementation of FTLRP in Matabeleland North. Second, their silence could be a fear of evictions from the land, since it was the norm that beneficiaries of FTLRP should show allegiance to ZANU PF, as documented in other studies (Mkodzongi, 2013a; Matondi, 2012). Third, this could mean that most of them did not support ZANU PF. The few war veterans who narrated their experience with ZANU PF seemed to confirm their animosity to the ruling party. Beneficiary 17, for instance, quit his job in the Zimbabwe National Army during the period of the post-independence violence in Matabeleland. He said:

I was arrested in 1983 and came out in 1985. When I left prison I went to South Africa. I tried to go back to work but they said “the dissident has come” I lifted my hands in surrender and said to myself, “My father took care of me by working in South Africa” and I forgot about the liberation struggle (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014).

Beneficiary 7 also quit his job because of tensions between ZANU and ZAPU forces within the Zimbabwe National Army soon after independence. He narrated his story: “I noticed that this could put me in danger because you would think that you are fighting an enemy together yet the enemy is the one you are with, in the same army” (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015). These stories clearly depict a disconnection of the war veterans from ZANU PF. It is therefore not surprising that the war veterans interviewed did not apply for land during the Old Resettlement programme between 1980 and 1990, although their interest in land had propelled them to join the liberation struggle. The most likely explanation lies in the history of antagonism between ZANU PF and ZAPU, the post-war conflict in Matabeleland and fear of the government. This could have dampened, not their interest in land, but their effort in seeking it.

Why then did these ZAPU war veterans seek for land through the FTLRP? There are various reasons that have been discussed in earlier sections. FTLRP began when Zimbabwe was undergoing a serious economic crisis. The need for alternative sources of livelihood by war veterans could have been a major factor. Most war veterans had property in the city, but did

not have retirement homes in communal areas despite having participated in the liberation struggle to acquire land.

### **6.3 Social differentiation of beneficiaries**

Land beneficiaries were not a homogenous group. Cousins et al. (1992) sum up various causes of social differentiation of peasants in communal areas of Zimbabwe, which apply to this case study. They highlight that “the unequal access to livestock, technology and agricultural capital widens gaps between households with differential capacities to produce an agricultural surplus” (Cousins et al., 1992:13). They also note that different levels of income directly influence different levels of agricultural production (Cousins et al., 1992). These determine the beneficiaries’ ability to “purchase inputs, hire labour, invest on the land in tools, equipment and livestock” (Cousins et al., 1992:14). Additionally, some land beneficiaries have less access to state agricultural inputs than those with political connections, therefore causing differentiation (Cousins et al., 1992).

#### **6.3.1 Socio-economic backgrounds of beneficiaries**

This section analyses socio-economic backgrounds of beneficiaries. In this study, beneficiaries were differentiated by ownership of agricultural assets, particularly ploughs and cattle, and whether they could afford to hire a tractor and labour. They were also differentiated by whether they had ownership of a house in the city or land in communal areas, and their place of residency after acquiring land. The educational and employment backgrounds and sources of income were other indicators of differentiation.

#### **6.3.2 Highest level of education**

Only one of the eighteen beneficiaries had tertiary education. Nine had secondary education. Not all of these had attained the standard Ordinary Level stage. Six had primary school education. The remaining two had no formal education. See Table 3.

**Table 3: Education levels of beneficiaries**

<b>Education Levels of Beneficiaries</b>	<b>Number</b>
Primary school	6
Secondary school	9
Tertiary education	1
No formal education	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>

Source: Author, based on interview data, Rouxdale (R/E) farm, 2014.

Only two of the eighteen beneficiaries had any agricultural qualification. One had a Diploma in agriculture and the other had completed a short course in agriculture while working as a civil servant. The rest of the beneficiaries did not have any formal education in agriculture.

### **6.3.3 Previous employment status of beneficiaries**

According to Moyo et al. (2009), the workplace is an important space where people gain values and experience, which are often used in other spheres of life. This study concurs that beneficiaries' employment backgrounds influence their decisions concerning land use. Table 4 provides detail on the previous employment of beneficiaries before acquiring land.

**Table 4: Previous employment status of beneficiaries**

<b>Previous Employment</b>	<b>Total</b>
Unemployed	3
Public Sector	4
Private Sector	1
Informal Sector	5
Non-Governmental Sector	1
Domestic Work	2
Farm Work	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>

Source: Author, based on interview data, Rouxdale (R/E) farm, 2014

Prior to obtaining land in 2000, beneficiaries were engaged in diverse forms of employment. Three beneficiaries were unemployed, with one of them living in communal areas and relying on subsistence farming for a living. She inherited a farm in the communal area after her husband died. Because her husband, a former farmworker at the Rouxdale (R/E) farm had

been evicted from the farm before FTLRP, the war veteran network returned him to the farm through the FTLRP. The other two lived in the city of Bulawayo. One was married and acquired land through her husband, who was a war veteran. The other was a war veteran and acquired land in her own right.

One beneficiary was previously employed in the private sector as a receptionist. Another worked as a semi-skilled community worker in a Non-Governmental Organisation. Five beneficiaries were self-employed in the informal sector. These were involved in jobs such as welding, cleaning, sewing clothes, vending and cross-border transport services.

Four of the beneficiaries were previously employed in the public sector as civil servants. One was a teacher and another, a soldier, while the other two were policemen who worked for the Bulawayo City Council and the Municipality of Bulawayo, respectively. There were also two domestic workers, while the remaining two had been farmworkers before moving to Rouxdale (R/E) farm.

#### **6.3.4 Status of beneficiaries: ordinary or elite?**

An analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of beneficiaries shows that they were ordinary people. Most of them had either primary or secondary education. None of them had an influential position within ZANU PF. The civil servants in the sample were not elite ZANU PF politicians who are said to have dominated land acquisition by the critics of FTLRP (Zamchiya, 2011; Sachikonye, 2003). Their jobs were ordinary and of low status. This finding supports the view of the supporters of FTLRP, that the programme benefited mostly ordinary people (Moyo, 2011b; Scoones et al., 2010). Although most scholars reported that the largest percentage of beneficiaries originated from communal areas, in the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, most of the beneficiaries came from urban areas.

These beneficiaries were highly differentiated. First, their level of education, previous employment status and access to income differentiated their capacity to use land. For instance, they had different levels of income and therefore varying access to farm implements and labour. Those who were previously employed in formal jobs, such as the teacher and soldier, were more likely to have better income even after retirement than those who were engaged in non-formal jobs. This confirms Cousins et al. (1992:14)'s view that "inequalities in wage-labour incomes contribute to inequalities in ownership of means of agricultural and

livestock production.” The fact that social capital drew together people of such differentiated socio-economic backgrounds with the common goal of acquiring land shows its importance. As mentioned in Chapter Two, social capital can help address collective problems (Coleman, 1990).

### **6.3.5 Ownership of houses in the city**

Beneficiaries were also differentiated by ownership of assets. As highlighted earlier, a significant number of beneficiaries owned houses in Bulawayo, while one owned land in a communal area at the time of fieldwork interviews. Interview data revealed that beneficiaries leased out their houses for income generation. The funds were used to finance agricultural activities. This was one of the reasons for maintaining urban houses. Beneficiary 2 explained: “We also have tenants in our house in Bulawayo, so we collect their rentals and use the money for our needs here in the farm” (Interview with Beneficiary 2, 20 May 2015). Beneficiary 15 also related:

So in town I rented out my house and left one room for myself only so that if I need to go to town in case my child is sick, I go there, and if my child arrives from out of the country he can go and rest there. I put tenants in the other rooms and get US\$200 per month (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 20 May 2015).

Some beneficiaries kept their houses to accommodate their family members who still lived in the city after they had moved permanently to the farm. According to Beneficiary 14: “Yes I have an 8-roomed house. My wife is there and we also have tenants. The money for tenants also helps me with other things. We use it to also pay bills there in our house” (Interview with Beneficiary 14, 21 May 2015). Some beneficiaries who still lived in the city Bulawayo during the period of fieldwork kept and continued to live in their houses in the city.

Income from house ownership in the city put these beneficiaries in a better position than those who did not own houses or land in communal areas. It provided for the day-to-day running activities of the farm for those living on the farm. It was a significant source of differentiation. Those who did not have a steady income through leasing were at a disadvantage. However, the war veteran-led network united people of different income status through property ownership, during the land occupations with the mutual goal of acquiring land, and this is the strength of social capital.

### **6.3.6 Reasons for maintaining houses in the city**

Maintaining ownership of a house in the city or land in communal areas is a common trend in other parts of the country as discussed briefly in Chapter Four, section 4.5.2 (Matondi and Dekker, 2011; Murisa, 2013). In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, most beneficiaries who kept their houses intended to use the property as their continual link to the city where they visited for personal business. Those who lived on the farm rented out part of their homes to generate income.

Matondi and Dekker (2011) relate the relatively few beneficiaries in Mazowe that held on to land in communal areas to their security of tenure on FTLRP farms. This was generally not the case with Rouxdale (R/E) beneficiaries. Most beneficiaries interviewed said that maintenance of houses in the city was more of a livelihood strategy not related to insecurity of tenure on the farm. Of the few beneficiaries who highlighted insecurity of tenure, those without a house in the city or land in the communal area were more insecure than those who had. An example is Beneficiary 18 who narrated the following:

We are settled, yes, but because we must be given title deeds then we will be sure that we are here to stay and that even my grandchildren will also live here. I am somewhere in between because you never know what will happen tomorrow. Maybe things will change in future, we do not know, maybe we could be moved to another area, we do not know (Interview with Beneficiary 18, 20 May 2015).

Those who had houses or property but were insecure did not mention the lack of title deeds for land as a reason for their insecurity. Ownership of property could have been their source of security in the event of being evicted from the land. According to Beneficiary 13, who owned land in the communal area:

That is why I do not want to abandon my homestead in the Reserves [communal areas]. You never know what will happen. If there are any problems I will go back to my home. At least I am sure that one is my home. In the Reserves, nothing changes. That side we do not pay fees for the land but here we pay fees for the land (Interview with Beneficiary 13 21 May 2015).

Beneficiary 16, who owned a house in the city, related:

I sometimes think that we are too close to Bulawayo that one day they may think of moving us. Except for that, I feel secure. There are a lot of mine shafts in the farm which show that there are minerals, so let's say that someone, a top government official, comes and surveys and discovers that there are some minerals, I hear that they have a right of moving you and compensate you. (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 22 May 2015).

These responses confirm that ownership of property away from the farm provided some kind of security for these beneficiaries, in the event of eviction from land.

#### **6.4 Ownership of cattle and ploughs**

Beneficiaries were differentiated by access to income and this determined if they could afford farming tools. As noted earlier, the varied sources of income were employment, self-employment and leasing of houses. Another important source of income was the war veteran pensions and remittances from children, which were received by only a few beneficiaries.

Ownership of farming implements and cattle was therefore a source of differentiation for the beneficiaries. While other beneficiaries owned other types of livestock, such as goats and chickens, cattle were selected as a unit of analysis because they provide draught power, which is essential for agricultural production. All beneficiaries owned simple implements such as a hand hoe, but the study focused on the ownership of a plough as a key element of differentiation due to its importance in small-scale farming. None of the beneficiaries owned a tractor even though many hired tractors during the ploughing season. Access to financial resources to hire a tractor was another source of differentiation.

Of the eighteen beneficiaries, seven did not own cattle on the farm. The eleven who owned cattle had the capacity to plough the land, given that they also owned ploughs. It is worth noting that this figure constitutes four married couples who were interviewed separately (8) while the rest (3) represented separate households. An interesting feature is that four of the beneficiaries who did not own cattle lived in the city and hired labour to run their farms. Twelve of the total of eighteen beneficiaries owned a plough with two households owning two ploughs each. It is important to note that the twelve also include four married couples who were interviewed individually. The remaining six beneficiaries did not own a plough.



## 6.5 Beneficiaries' place of residence

Beneficiaries were also differentiated by their place of residence after being allocated land.

Table 5 illustrates this:

**Table 5: Beneficiaries' residency after acquiring land**

Type of Beneficiary	Male	Female	Total
Beneficiaries living on the farm	5	6	11
Beneficiaries living on the farm and self-employed (outside the farm)	1	1	2
Beneficiaries living in Bulawayo who hire labour to run the farm	1	3	4
Beneficiaries upgraded to A2 status	1		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>18</b>

Source: Author: based on interview data, Rouxdale Farm, 2014

Eleven beneficiaries resided on the farm and derived their primary livelihoods from the land. Two beneficiaries from this group were engaged in mining activities in old mines abandoned by white farmers on Rouxdale (R/E) and Rouxdale B farms. A more detailed analysis of the livelihoods of beneficiaries is the subject of the next chapter.

Two beneficiaries also lived on the farm and were involved in other semi-skilled and unskilled professions. The first was engaged in sewing in Bulawayo and commuted to the city daily, while the other did cross-border transporting seasonally. This is another example of the combination of rural and urban livelihoods that emerged as the main motivation for getting land by urban people. While they were at work, their families conducted agricultural activities on the farm. These beneficiaries stayed on the farm during the planting season to supplement labour in the arable plots.

Four beneficiaries lived in the city of Bulawayo. One was a community worker for a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), while the other was a vendor. The other two were unemployed. These beneficiaries hired people to conduct farming activities, but visited the farm on a regular basis. The unemployed beneficiaries also stayed on the farm during the

farming season. The fact that they kept the land despite living in the city shows that land was an asset to them and an important part of their livelihoods.

One beneficiary had recently acquired an A2 farm in the Midlands Province through assistance from local government officials. At the time of interviews in 2014, he had recently moved to his A2 farm. His large cattle herd had become a threat to overgrazing on communally shared grazing land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. He was included in the sample of participants because of his wealth of knowledge since he had been part of the farm invasion and lived on the land for about thirteen years. His land was reallocated to a relative through family social networks.

## **6.6 Differentiation in access to labour**

All beneficiaries living in the city relied on hired labour. Family labour was the primary source of labour for those living on the farm, although one engaged permanent labour and some relied on seasonal labour during the cultivation season. Other studies also report that most A1 beneficiaries did not hire permanent labour and the use of seasonal labour only applied in peak farming periods (Scoones et al., 2010; Moyo et al., 2009). Most of the A1 beneficiaries therefore relied on family labour (Moyo et al., 2009; Chambati, 2013).

## **6.7 Class analysis of beneficiaries**

The study borrows Patnaik (1976)'s model of peasant differentiation based on a Marxist understanding framed around the "possession of means of production and the exploitation of labour" (Patnaik, 1976:A-83). The model compares the use of "outside labour" with family labour as an indicator of differentiation (Patnaik, 1976:A-84). The first class is that of "landowners and capitalists" (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). These "relied entirely" on the use of labour from outside their families and did not use family labour (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). The second class is of "rich peasants," who used both family labour and labour from outside the family structure equally (Patnaik, 1976:A-85).

The third class of the "middle peasantry" was broken down into two categories (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). The first category of "upper middle peasants" consisted of those who were "net exploiters of other people's labour" (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). This class lived beyond the subsistence levels in terms of production because they could produce some "surpluses" (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). The second category is that of "lower middle peasants" who did not

use any labour from outside their farms, and relied on family labour (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). This class was struggling to access “subsistence” benefits of land due to various factors and supplemented their production with other forms of livelihood (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). The fourth class is of “poor peasants” whose main source of subsistence was “working for others” in various forms of arrangements (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). The “full time labourer,” which is the last class of the landless, survived by “hiring out their labour” (Patnaik, 1976:A-85). In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, there were no beneficiaries who could be categorized as the landowners, rich peasants, and full time labourers. The study therefore adopted three classes: the upper middle, lower middle and poor peasants.

Below is Table 6 which shows the three classes of beneficiaries adapted from Patnaik (1976)’s Marxist categorisation modified to exclude the component of leasing land because all land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm belonged to the government.

**Table 6: Emerging classes on Rouxdale (R/E) Farm**

<b>Upper Middle Peasants</b>	<b>Lower Middle Peasants</b>	<b>Poor Peasants</b>
Lived on the farm (Five beneficiaries)	Lived in the city (Four beneficiaries)	Lived on the farm (Nine beneficiaries)
Some had houses in the city	All had houses in the city	A few had houses in the city/land in the communal areas
Income through pensions, rental of houses	Income through pensions/jobs and rental of houses	Income through pensions and remittances
Access to permanent and seasonal hired labour Access to family labour	Access to permanent hired labour Access to seasonal family labour	No access to hired labour Access to family labour
All could afford to hire a tractor	Some could afford to hire a tractor	Most could not afford to hire a tractor
Had cattle	Did not have cattle	Some had cattle
All had ploughs	Some had ploughs	Some had ploughs

Source: Author, based on interview data, Rouxdale (R/E) Farm, 2014

The emergence of these classes could have contributed significantly to the weakening of social capital among beneficiaries. Even though, during the time of land occupations, they were united by one goal, this changed after they acquired land. Differences in socio-

economic situations shows different needs, aspirations and attitudes, which this study emphasises could have created division of a once very strong social network.

### **6.8 Land an important asset**

Land was an important asset to beneficiaries. As mentioned earlier, most beneficiaries from urban areas sought land either to supplement existing or create new livelihoods during an economic crisis. Their exposure to subsistence farming while growing up in communal areas also informed the importance of land. The fact that a significant percentage of beneficiaries interviewed were out of employment shows that the farm had become their home. This study therefore emphasises that land matters.

### **6.9 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed backgrounds of the beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It provided, *inter alia*, their origins, interest in land, previous experience in subsistence farming, gender composition and political affiliation. Most beneficiaries needed land to supplement existing or create new livelihoods in a context of an economic crisis. The chapter also paid attention to the differentiation of beneficiaries using various indicators. This included, first, educational backgrounds, previous and current employment, which affect levels of income. Second, ownership of assets, such as houses in the city and land in the communal areas. Third, ownership of agricultural assets such as cattle, ploughs and a tractor. Fourth, affordability to hire of labour. The chapter has argued that social capital had the capability of uniting such differentiated beneficiaries with the common goal of acquiring land.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **An analysis of the benefits of FTLRP on Rouxdale (R/E) Farm**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the positive benefits of FTLRP on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It responds to a rigorous debate in academic literature where critics argue that, to a large extent, FTLRP was a failure (Derman, 2006; Richardson, 2005; Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003). The supporters of the FTLRP, on the other hand, argue that, although beneficiaries faced many challenges, FTLRP provided the much-needed livelihoods to smallholder households (Moyo, 2011b; Matondi, 2012; Mkodzongi, 2013a). This chapter concurs with the supporters of FTLRP that the programme contributed to the livelihoods of beneficiaries. It emphasises that social capital facilitated the realisation of these livelihoods in the context of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. However, the chapter also critiques the heavy focus in literature on the physical outcomes of the FTLRP. The limited studies on the social outcomes of FTLRP are drawn from Mashonaland and Masvingo Provinces. This chapter does not only emphasise that social outcomes are equally important. It goes further to locate this analysis in the context of Rouxdale (R/E) farm where dry climatic conditions limited the realisation of physical outcomes such as crop production. The chapter therefore argues that land is an asset whose benefits far surpass livelihood provision. It illustrates that FTLRP led to restoration of justice for the war veterans, created a sense of belonging and empowered women, and that these social outcomes contribute to the wellbeing of beneficiaries.

The chapter is divided into six sections. The first section discusses crop production as a positive benefit of FTLRP. It illustrates that, in the context of a dwindling economy, crop production catered for beneficiaries' subsistence needs. Although production levels were low due to poor climatic conditions, the minimal produce derived from their fields would not have been available without access to land. The section also discusses challenges faced by beneficiaries in agricultural production, which are, lack of capital and limited post-settlement support from the government. The second section focuses on livestock production as another livelihood activity on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. This is a benefit of land which was not available for most beneficiaries who lived in the city before acquiring land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. The section discusses various types of livestock reared by beneficiaries, with cattle being the most important. It emphasises that the structure of the A1 villagised model contributed to

livestock-related challenges and the dissolution of the war veteran-led social network responsible for land occupations.

The third section focuses on access to mining opportunities through FTLRP as another benefit of FTLRP. It reveals that few beneficiaries were deriving their livelihood through mining even in the midst of many operating challenges due to lack of capital. The fact that mines on former white-owned farms had been private property, means that beneficiaries would not have accessed them had it not been for the redistribution of land through the FTLRP.

The remaining sections discuss other benefits of FTLRP which are not livelihood-related but essential for the wellbeing of beneficiaries. The fourth section for instance, focuses on FTLRP's contribution towards the restoration of justice for war veterans who fought the liberation struggle for land. Access to land also created a sense of belonging for beneficiaries. This is the subject of the fifth section. As discussed in Chapter Six, a place of belonging was one of the main motivations for seeking land. Beneficiaries saw Rouxdale (R/E) farm as a peaceful final place of rest.

FTLTP contributed to the empowerment of a particular group of women. This is discussed in the sixth section. These are women who were previously unemployed before acquiring land, but through their role in the production processes now had access to finances which they previously did not have. Social capital among women on Rouxdale (R/E) farm is also discussed in this section where focus is on the women's gardening project and its contribution towards livelihoods.

## **7.2 Crop Production**

Crop production was one of the main livelihood activities on Rouxdale (R/E) farm and clearly a benefit of FTLRP. Maize was the dominant crop planted by beneficiaries because it is a staple food of Zimbabwe. Other crops grown in smaller quantities were groundnuts, millet, sorghum, pumpkins and roundnuts. All beneficiaries were dependent on rain-fed farming. Rouxdale (R/E) farm is part of Region 4 in the agro-ecological scale of Zimbabwe with fairly low rainfall (see Chapter Three, section 3.1.1). Production levels therefore fluctuated according to rainfall patterns. Beneficiaries harvested more in years of high rainfall than in years of drought. They could not produce as much as those in wetter regions of the

country, but this did not reduce the importance of crop production. Production levels were also influenced by the differentiation of beneficiaries discussed in Chapter Six with upper middle peasants producing more than the lower middle and poor peasants.

Most of the crop produce was for subsistence. Beneficiary 7, who lived on the farm, said: “Since I started to farm, I have never bought maize meal, I get mine from my harvest” (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 3 June 2014). This is unlike life in the city where he used to buy mealie meal at high prices. For those living in the city, most of the produce was used for the subsistence of their permanent employees on the farm, and as urban supplements of food. The combination of rural and urban livelihoods is common, and was the main motivation by urban dwellers for seeking land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Potts and Mutambirwa (1990) and Potts (2011) have discussed its prominence in Zimbabwe, while (Tacoli, 2002) has shown that this is also common within Sub-Saharan Africa. Beneficiary 12 highlighted that “most of the food we eat here [in the city], comes from the farm” (Interview with Beneficiary 12, 28 May 2015). Beneficiary 16 also concurred:

I have just been telling you now that we have harvested our crops. When I leave here I will be carrying my bag of maize and take it to the grinding mill. I can take one of my goats and slaughter it and go with the meat so that I will not have to buy in town (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014).

Beneficiary 8 described a similar situation:

At least I carry food to the city to feed people there, and leave some for those on the farm so that they will have something to eat. It helps in that way if you have a rural home. There has been a change especially with food supply from the farm. We also have fruits here in the yard. In town I live in a flat so I do not have a big yard where I can plant fruit trees (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 9 July 2014).

These findings are in agreement with a study on urban livelihoods of A1 farmers residing in Bulawayo which reports that “rural-urban transfers of food” from the A1 farms “improved urban food access” in Bulawayo (Moyo, 2013a:29).

Some beneficiaries, who produced surplus during the years of high rainfall, sold maize to nearby farmers. Beneficiary 14 narrated: “we have been growing maize and selling to people who do not have food. Many people have been coming to buy maize from surrounding farms and former farmworker compounds” (Interview with Beneficiary 14, 9 July 2014). A few beneficiaries attempted to sell their produce to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) but faced

challenges with delayed payment which also delayed other farm investments, which depended on the proceeds from GMB.

Considering that FTLRP started during an economic crisis, subsistence through farm produce, regardless of quantities, would not have been possible without access to land. Beneficiaries' survival of the economic crisis would have been worse because most had retired and could no longer afford life in the city. There was a general sense that beneficiaries valued land as an asset, even if it was not giving them as much production as those in high rainfall areas of the country.

Crop production would not have been possible without the existence of several social networks which, this chapter argues, created a conducive environment for livelihood production as noted by Mutopo (2014b) and (Murisa, 2011). Some beneficiaries hired out their draught power to those who did not have cattle and ploughs, and this created strong networks. Other networks within and beyond the farm provided information on labour issues, farm development and advice on where to secure a cheaper tractor for hire, *inter alia*. These networks were an initiative of beneficiaries themselves due to the failure of the VIDCO structures to adequately address all village development needs. Lin (2001) highlighted that people gather valuable ideas and knowledge about issues in social networks. This information facilitates the implementation of collective ideas (Coleman, 1990). Social capital therefore made an important contribution towards the realisation of the benefits of land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm.

### **7.2.1 Crop production-related challenges**

#### ***Lack of capital***

Lack of capital was a major challenge for all beneficiaries. All beneficiaries relied on their own income to finance most crop production activities. None could afford irrigation facilities to maximise production. Beneficiary 17 narrated: "lack of money is the biggest challenge. I would have loved to dig my own borehole and use irrigation schemes on my farm because we have limited water here" (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 20 May 2015). This challenge is common among A1 beneficiaries across the country as documented by various scholars, such as Matondi (2012), Scoones et al. (2010), Hanlon et al. (2013) to mention just a few.



### ***Limited post-settlement support***

There was very limited post-settlement support from the government. Interview data revealed that seed input from the government was insufficient to cover the three hectares of arable plots. Beneficiaries therefore purchased most of the seed input using personal finances. According to Beneficiary 17, “most times we have been buying seed but the government has been helping us even if it has not been enough. Then we have been supplementing. We have been getting maize seed every year” (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014). Another beneficiary also added: “the seed given by the government is not enough. We often have to buy more because sometimes we get 10kg and sometimes it is 20kg so it is not enough. We need about 50kg of seed per season” (Interview with Beneficiary 18, 4 June 2014).

Beneficiaries also stressed the delay in the disbursement of seed input by the government. According to Beneficiary 8, “sometimes they give us seed input after we have finished the farming season, then we keep it for the next farming season” (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 9 July 2014). The government fertiliser input was not regularly disbursed. According to Beneficiary 2, “in these last two years we were even given fertilizer, but this year we were given the maize seed even if we did not get the fertilizer” (Interview with Beneficiary 2, 2 June 2014). Although seed input was inadequate and frequently delayed, beneficiaries coordinated themselves to ensure that it was delivered to them. They created a network of contributing US \$1 each towards the transporting of seed input from the DA’s office to Rouxdale (R/E) farm. This shows that, in the midst of challenges, social capital played an important role. Limited post-settlement support and delay in the disbursement of seed to beneficiaries is also not peculiar to Rouxdale (R/E) farm. This cuts across most A1 villagised establishments in the country as evidenced by the scholarly works of Moyo (2011b), Matondi (2012) and Scoones et al. (2010) to mention just a few.

The disbursement of seed input was also politicised, as discussed by Mkodzongi (2013a)’s case of Mhondoro-Ngezi District, where those with political connections within ZANU PF got more access to seed input from the government. In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, there were two seed input schemes. The first, disbursed through the extension officer, was available to everyone. The second scheme was given to ZANU PF members. Beneficiary 11 narrated that “sometimes the government provides seed input through the extension officer which is accessible to everybody, but if it comes through ZANU PF, one that is collected using a ZANU PF card, I do not get it” (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 3 June 2014). An

interview with the wife of one of the local authorities, who were directly linked to ZANU PF, confirmed that their seed input was sufficient. (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 3 June 2014). This was contrary to many stories of beneficiaries whose seed from the government was insufficient, showing that the disbursement of seed input was highly politicised. This created tensions among beneficiaries therefore weakening the once very strong social network which was responsible for land occupations.

### **7.3 Livestock production on Rouxdale (R/E) farm**

Livestock production was another livelihood activity and benefit of FTLRP on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. As discussed in Chapter Six, most beneficiaries did not have their own land in communal lands where they could rear livestock as a form of livelihood. Access to land through FTLRP provided an opportunity to expand their livelihood options which they previously could not explore since most lived in the city. This means that most beneficiaries only started livestock production when they acquired land. Beneficiary 17 confirmed that “When I came here I did not have cattle, but through working and being motivated by having what I can call my own home, I bought my cattle, about 3 of them. As time went on they produced more cattle” (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014). Interview data revealed that only two beneficiaries had livestock before acquiring land through the FTLRP and neither brought their livestock to Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Livestock ownership was also influenced by the differentiation of beneficiaries discussed in Chapter Six, with the upper middle peasants owning more livestock than the lower middle and poor peasants. Table 7 shows the livestock census from 2013 to 2015.

**Table 7: Livestock Production on Rouxdale (R/E) farm (2013-2015)**

<b>Type of Livestock</b>	<b>Cows</b>	<b>Bulls</b>	<b>Heifers</b>	<b>Oxen</b>	<b>Calves</b>	<b>Goats</b>	<b>Poultry</b>
December 2013	101	17	50	44	92	81	110
December 2014	93	13	55	45	86	155	222
April 2015	84	13	65	32	79	150	218

Source: Rouxdale (R/E) farm Veterinary Records, Bubi District

Table 7 shows an increase in the numbers of goats and poultry. A possible explanation is that these types of livestock are generally cheaper to purchase in the market than cattle. Except for

heifers, there is a drop in the number of cattle. Interview data revealed that this resulted from cattle sales, thefts, occasional drought periods in the region, and diseases. Similar trends were observed on FTLRP farms in other parts of Zimbabwe (Scoones et al., 2010). According to some land officials, most beneficiaries did not constantly vaccinate their cattle to prevent diseases such as black leg due to lack of funds. This also contributed to cattle deaths.

Table 8 shows figures for cattle sales on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Unfortunately, the Veterinary Office records did not have adequate information of cattle sales from 2000 when beneficiaries were allocated land. This explains the missing information on cattle sales from 2000 to 2009. The table shows fluctuating numbers of cattle sales, where 2017 had the highest sales, followed by 2012.

**Table 8: Cattle Sales on Rouxdale (R/E) farm (2010-2017)**

Year	Cows	Bulls	Heifers	Oxen	Steers	Calves	Total
2010	11	4	16	2	1		34
2011	2	1	3	2			8
2012	8		8	2	16	1	35
2013	1	3		6	1		11
2014	8	4			9		21
2015	4				21		25
2016	4	2		2			8
2017	5	1		6	37		49
<b>Total</b>	43	15	27	20	85	1	191

Source: Rouxdale (R/E) farm Veterinary Records, Bubi District

Interview data revealed varied benefits of owning livestock. The previous chapter discussed that cattle are vital for draught power. Beneficiaries also regarded cattle as their bank. This means that they sold cattle in times of financial need. Beneficiary 5 for instance, sold a cow to cover her children's school fees. She narrated:

I sold a cow in January when schools were opening so that children could go to school. Every time I face challenges financially, I do not hesitate. I speak with my husband and we agree to sell a cow. Cattle are our bank, we draw from it (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 3 June 2014).

Some beneficiaries sold milk to those who did not have cattle, and this was a beneficial kind of networking. This is different from life in the city where most beneficiaries bought milk at high prices. Some of the milk was for household usage. Beneficiary 15 noted: "I don't buy

milk for my tea like I used to in the city. I make my own tea and drink with milk from my cattle” (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014). This confirms Scoones et al. (2010:117)’s view that cattle are important for “draught power, transport, milk, manure, meat and sale” and that they were “a hedge against inflation” during the period of economic crisis.

Another benefit of FTLRP was the availability of sufficient grazing land compared to communal areas. Beneficiary 14 explained the situation of his communal area of origin. He said: “In Kezi the grass for grazing is short and the cattle are many so there is not enough grazing land. Here we have a lot of grass for cattle” (Interview with Beneficiary 14, 21 May 2015). Beneficiary 7 also related: “in Nkayi, the area is no longer good for rearing livestock because there is a shortage of grazing land because of overpopulation” (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015). This was confirmed by one of the land officials who emphasised the availability of grazing land as one of the tangible benefits of FTLRP in A1 farms of the Bubi District (Interview with land official, 30 July 2014).

FTLRP also opened up access to grazing land for a neighbouring farmer whose farm was not redistributed through FTLRP. She highlighted that during the time of white farmers, boundaries were strict, but after FTLRP, their cattle were freed to feed on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. She narrated that “white farmers did not want our cattle to enter into their land. They did not even want their bulls to come and breed with our cows because then we would get their breed of cattle for free” (Interview with neighbour, 6 August 2014). The opening up of more grazing land through FTLRP has been reported by other studies, such as Matondi (2012)’s study on the Mangwe District.

Social capital created a conducive environment for livestock rearing livelihood opportunities. As discussed in the next chapter, social networks established by the VIDCO structures dealt with the coordination of dipping facilities and solutions to cattle related problems, making it possible for the realisation of the benefits of land through livestock rearing. The study stresses the importance of social capital in livelihood creation in a context like Rouxdale (R/E) farm, where grazing land and dipping facilities were communally shared.

### **7.3.1 Livestock-related challenges**

Cattle theft was one of the problems faced by cattle owners. Rouxdale (R/E) homesteads are very close to the main road, and easily accessible to thieves. Beneficiaries also complained

that people's livestock invaded their arable plots to feed on their crops. This affected crop production and strained relationships. Beneficiary 4 narrated: "every time I grow my maize, I never harvest much because when my maize has grown, someone's cattle will get into my field and feed" (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). This was a common problem for all beneficiaries. Some felt that their enemies deliberately cut their field boundary fences to let their cattle into their arable plots. Others thought that it was a case of carelessness by cattle owners.

Interview data revealed that this problem emanated from vandalism of property by beneficiaries when they moved onto the land. They destroyed fence boundaries of paddocks, which would have blocked cattle from entering arable plots. The fences were used as boundaries for beneficiaries' residential plots. This is mentioned in literature on FTLRP outcomes. Matondi (2012:144) discusses destruction of paddock boundaries and resultant problems in Mazowe District. In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, Beneficiary 6 narrated:

There were fences as well demarcating paddocks because the farm was used for cattle ranching but people broke all those fences. It would have been possible to have a system where cattle do not even enter our arable plots; it would have been easy to lead them to the grazing land without tampering with people's crops (Interview with Beneficiary 6, 28 May 2013).

Beneficiaries expressed that, compared to communal areas, there were no stringent measures taken against beneficiaries whose cattle fed in others' arable plots. Beneficiary 18 explained how such people were dealt with in communal areas:

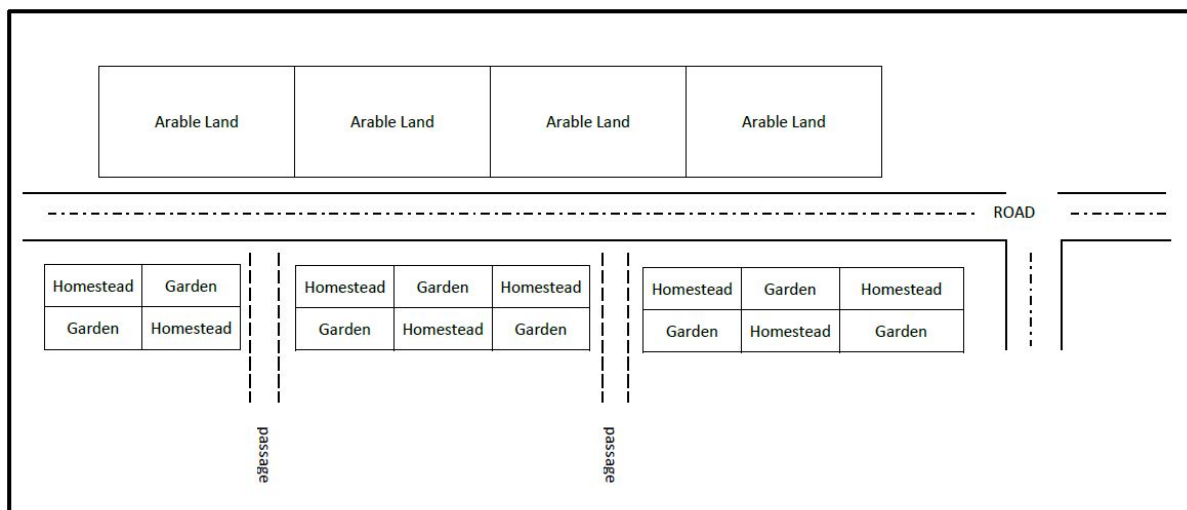
We know that in communal areas people were made to recompense for the loss that one's cattle had plundered. The local authorities would be called to check the extent of the loss in the arable plot and tell the offender how many bags [of that crop, (for instance maize) they were supposed to recompense. But here people do not really care because they know that no one will reprimand them for such an offence (Interview with Beneficiary 18, 4 June 2014).

In explaining Beneficiary 18's statement, Beneficiary 11 stressed that Rouxdale (R/E) farm was not rural enough to be rural, thus people disrespected regulations and local leaders (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 3 June 2014). This meant that even though all beneficiaries grew up in communal areas, they had adopted an urban individualistic approach to life. Beneficiary 8 confirmed this, stating that, unlike in communal areas where being summoned by the village head brought fear, it was different on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. She said, "If the village head confronts me about a certain issue I can also ask him what he thinks he will do

with that information. Do you think that such a person is respected?” (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 19 May 2015).

These are some of the issues that eroded the strength of the war veteran-led network. Even though the social network’s common goal of acquiring land and the previous history of friendship brought them together, the fact that some were elevated to leadership positions within government created tensions.

This study also shows that the structure of the A1 villagised model contributed significantly to challenges faced by beneficiaries and hindered social capital. The short distance between arable plots and residential plots where beneficiaries built kraals for their cattle, caused conflicts. Most of the residential plots shared boundaries as illustrated in Figure 4.



**Figure 4: Structure of the A1 crop based villagised model on Rouxdale (R/E) farm**

Source: Author, based on Rouxdale (R/E) farm fieldwork observation, May 2014

One of the land officials provided an explanation for the clustering of the arable and residential plots:

The planner's wish would be to have arable lands as close to the village as possible. That would reduce the time taken by the farmer to travel to the field to work; guard his crops from destruction by domestic or wild animals; transport the harvest for processing or storage at home. However, it is impossible for all arable plots to be very close to the village for two reasons; some pieces of land are not suitable for cultivation for example if it is rocky; the arable plots range from 3 hectares minimum size, if a village has say 20 families it means the arable land will be about 60 hectares hence the last field would be far from the village. (Email communication with land official, 22 May 2017).

This was the thinking behind the A1 villagised model illustrated in Figure 4. The explanation of the land official is very practical. However, in reality it caused problems for beneficiaries. In the absence of paddocks, this clustering has made it very easy for cattle to access arable plots and destroy crops, and this is a weakness of the model.

The passages between residential plots are approximately two metres wide and beneficiaries built their livestock kraals within their gardens. Homesteads which shared a passage (illustrated in Figure 4), also developed livestock-related conflicts. This is a major setback of the A1 villagised model. One of the beneficiaries who fought with their neighbour over the use of a shared passage narrated:

I fought with my neighbour because of cattle. So after ploughing with my cattle I would move them through the passage in between our residential plots. He said he did not want my cattle to use that passage because they would dig a trench and cause water to move into his residential plot during the rainy season. He suggested that I move my cattle through my residential plot entrance (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 20 May 2015).

The neighbour also admitted in a separate interview that they had not been on speaking terms for a few years due to the livestock-related conflict. It is important to emphasise that these neighbours are wives of war veterans who formed the core of the war veteran led-social network responsible for land occupation. The friendships of these war veterans had been very strong, dating back to the years of the liberation struggle in the 1970s and solidified through living in the same township in Bulawayo from independence in 1980 until FTLRP in 2000. The weakness of the villagised model, however, destroyed this established social network.

The poor planning of the A1 villagised model contributed towards the destruction of trust amongst beneficiaries which is a critical element of social capital that once cemented the war

veteran-led social network together. While FTLRP is said to have “brought together strangers from different backgrounds [communal areas, urban areas and former Large Scale Commercial Farms]” (Murisa, 2013:275), in the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, it brought together war veteran friends and comrades. The A1 model therefore transformed these friends to strangers. Tensions emanating from the A1 villagised model broke down social capital that once held war veteran-led network together. According to Putnam et al. (1993), if relationships within social networks are not nourished, they dissolve and cease to exist. Coleman (1990:321) adds that “expectations and obligations wither over time if not renewed, since norms depend on regular communication.” This is what happened to the social network led by war veterans.

#### **7.4 Mining opportunities**

The creation of mining opportunities because of FTLRP was another positive benefit of land for some. Two beneficiaries were certified by the Ministry of Mines to conduct mining activities on old mines on Rouxdale (R/E) and Rouxdale B farms. They collaborated with gold panners from nearby farms and former farmworker compounds close to Rouxdale (R/E) farm. This is evidence of the use of social capital to create livelihoods. Their biggest challenge was lack of adequate mining equipment. This slowed down the pace of extracting gold. If they found gold, a significant amount of money was deducted from the proceeds for processing costs. The remainder would be shared amongst all members of the group. Income from gold mining was unstable and seasonal because it depended on the discovery of gold deposits. However, it was useful in the payment of school fees for children and financing farming activities (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 27 May 2015). Access to mineral resources through FTLRP has been documented in various studies, such as Moyo et al. (2009), Mkodzongi (2013b) and Scoones et al. (2010). The study concurs with these studies that deriving a livelihood through mining would not have been possible without access to land through FTLRP.

#### **7.5 A sense of healing and restoration of social justice**

As discussed in the previous chapters, there is limited attention to the positive social outcomes of FTLRP in scholarly literature, which this study argues are just as valuable as the physical outcomes. In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, there was a consensus among war veterans that access to land through FTLRP brought restoration of social justice. War veterans felt that, even though land in Matabeleland is less fertile, it provided restoration of



justice. They shared their stories of experiencing land dispossession by white people during the colonial period and how some of them worked in various sectors of the colonial government earning very little wages. This context is discussed in detail in Chapter Three, see Arrighi (1970) and Palmer (1977a). As highlighted in Chapter Six, most war veterans pointed to the quest for land as a major motivation for joining the liberation struggle and this has been documented in literature, see Moyana (1984). They emphasised that access to land was their biggest expectation from the government after independence.

The post-war violence of Matabeleland, which was a direct attack on ZAPU and its war veterans contributed to the slowing down of land reform in Matabeleland Provinces in the 1980s (Alexander, 1991). The war veterans, who previously supported ZAPU, narrated their loss of hope of getting land, which they fought for in the liberation struggle, because of the ZANU PF orchestrated post-independence violence in Matabeleland Provinces. Consequently, none of the war veterans interviewed applied for land during the Old Resettlement period between 1980 and 1999. This did not mean that they had lost interest in land, which they had fought for in the liberation struggle. Beneficiary 7 expressed their loss of hope in saying:

We had taken the country from the white people and for a long time it was not clear what was happening with regards to land in Matabeleland until 2000, so we could not see what we fought for until we were able to settle on this land here (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 3 June 2014).

The study therefore stresses that the experience of land reform through FTLRP was different in Matabeleland because, in 2000 when land occupations began, there was no longer any political crisis peculiar to Matabeleland. The whole country was facing a declining economy (Bond, 2008). This opened opportunities for war veterans and other people in Matabeleland to pursue their interest in acquiring land.

Access to land through FTLRP therefore brought a sense of healing and restoration of justice to the war veterans. This is regardless of their resentment for ZANU PF and their disagreement with the manner in which land was grabbed from white farmers. They stressed that access to land is what their former leader, Joshua Nkomo, had advocated for. This is evidenced by the teachings they received on the importance of land as a means of livelihood while in exile during the liberation struggle. According to Beneficiary 14, “Nkomo taught us that if you want money, you need to get land, so that we do not become people who depend

on handouts for food” (Interview with Beneficiary 14, 9 July 2014). Beneficiary 16 also added: “they taught us that our parents used to live on fertile land and were moved to land that was infertile and that we should get our fertile land back” (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014). This shows that beneficiaries were aware that access to land reduces poverty.

Although they received land twenty years after independence, war veterans said it was better than having fought the liberation struggle in vain. Access to land restored their identity as Zimbabweans. Beneficiary 10 expressed: “for people who went to the liberation struggle, we are now a people because we have land. We are now a complete people of Zimbabwe” (Interview with Beneficiary 10, 9 June 2014). Beneficiary 17 also added: “How can the country be ours if we do not have land? The country is ours because we have land. We have been made free” (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014). These responses show that war veterans valued land as an asset, even though it was not very fertile compared to land in high rainfall areas of Zimbabwe.

This is in line with Moyo (2011b:501)’s view that FRLRP “restored the identity [of] many” Zimbabweans. Beneficiary 17 and Beneficiary 10’s responses indeed show their satisfaction with the restoration of their identity as Zimbabweans, a country whose liberation they fought for. The study argues that this social benefit of land was essential for the wellbeing of beneficiaries and affected the way they utilised land. It also argues that although such outcomes cannot be quantified, they are as important as the physical outcomes of FTLRP. They highlight the symbolic nature of land.

## **7.6 A sense of belonging**

Redistribution of land through the FTLRP gave beneficiaries a sense of belonging. This social benefit is not influenced by material aspects of FTLRP, but is equally important. This was one of the beneficiaries’ motivations for claiming land. Beneficiary 18 stated that “It is no longer like long back where I had to buy my property and take it to my parents’ home. Now I have my own home where my property is. I have a place where I belong” (Interview with Beneficiary 18, 4 June 2014). Another beneficiary also noted the sense of peace that she experienced on the farm, saying, “I feel some fresh air when I am here on my piece of land rather than being in the city. It takes me away from the noise and activity in the city and brings so much peace just being here” (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014). Beneficiary 2 also said: “Nothing compares to the time I spend sitting under the shade of a

tree in my homestead to rest. It reminds me of growing up in the communal areas where we would relax after a day of hard work” (Interview with Beneficiary 2, 2 June 2014). These responses show that, despite the challenges they faced, beneficiaries found a home where they belonged and valued land as an asset even though it was less productive.

In explaining their sense of belonging, some beneficiaries stressed that the farm was their final home and a place of rest even though some owned houses in the city. Beneficiary 17 expressed:

As for me I am settled because no matter how big a challenge I may face and even if the government would come here and try to move me I do not think I would agree because for me this is now my home. If they take me here and place me elsewhere what will I do when I get there because I do not even have the strength? I have exhausted all my strength in this place (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 20 May 2015).

Beneficiary 10 added that access to land fulfilled his purpose of being a man. He said: “A man is a man because he has land. I now have a sense of belonging, which I did not have before I acquired land. I can now focus on what I will do tomorrow because I am settled” (Interview with Beneficiary 10, 9 June 2014). Thus, Beneficiary 10 saw his manhood as incomplete without access to or ownership of land. This illustrates the status associated with acquiring land. These outcomes are important for the wellbeing of beneficiaries.

Access to land gave some beneficiaries a sense of freedom. Beneficiary 9, who previously worked as a domestic worker, said:

There is a big difference than the years I was working. For you to get the salary you had to work hard, and the boss had control of your time. Now if I feel that I have done enough work, I rest. I work knowing that what I get is mine only. It is good to have my own home, now my family have a place to come and see me (Interview with Beneficiary 9, 21 May 2015).

Beneficiary 9 did not own a house in the city or land in communal areas before moving to the farm with her husband. The FTLRP therefore provided her first home. This would not have been possible without access to land through FTLRP. Her response shows that access to land empowers people by giving them the opportunity to pursue their own goals and have control of their lives.

These responses confirm that, in an African context, a rural home gives a sense of belonging. Potts (2011:594) highlights that “it is common in Zimbabwe for people to regard their rural birthplaces as ‘home’ and urban dwellings as mere ‘houses’ in most literature on migration in Zimbabwe.” This means that, whether beneficiaries owned houses in the city or not, Rouxdale (R/E) farm was their home and a place of rest. Access to these homes would not have been possible had it not been for FTLRP. The sense of belonging is also evident in the establishment of networks such as burial societies (discussed in Chapter Eight), which showed that beneficiaries were so settled on the land such that they aimed to be buried there.

### **7.7 Empowerment of women**

Empowerment of women was an important social benefit of FTLTP. Access to land empowered married women who were previously unemployed before acquiring land. Through their role in agricultural production processes, they obtained access to income, which they did not have while living in the city. Beneficiary 5 said:

While we still lived in the city, if I wanted to participate in a club, I would have to ask for money from my husband. Right now I am part of a burial club where I contribute 5 dollars per month and another grocery club where I contribute 30 dollars per month. So I am able to find that money for myself. At times I sell my bucket of maize and at times sell my chickens and get the money (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 3 June 2014).

This shows that access to land gave Beneficiary 5 the opportunity to be part of livelihood creation through agricultural production, which is a source of empowerment. It enabled her to generate income and make financial decisions. Beneficiary 2 had a similar view. She said:

Every year my husband gives me a portion of harvest. I then decide what to do with it. I usually sell the harvest (mostly maize) to purchase my personal belongings. This reward encourages me to work hard (Interview with Beneficiary 2, 2 June 2014).

Just like Beneficiary 5, Beneficiary 2 was empowered with the ability to generate income from the land. She had also been unemployed before moving onto the land. Even though the two women acquired access to land through marriage, which has been seen as a disadvantage by scholars such as Gray and Kevane (1999) and Yngstrom (2002), they capitalised on the advantages of that access. A study by Chingarande et al. (2012:79) on FTLRP outcomes in Chimanimani District reported that “lack of tenure did not mean total disempowerment of women with regard to decision making related to land and land use.” The study stresses that

married women influenced decisions even though they did not have individual titles to land (Chingarande et al., 2012). This was also the case with these women on Rouxdale (R/E) farm.

The establishment of a women's social network to supplement household livelihoods was another significant form of empowerment. Women had a collective project involving growing vegetables for sale in the market in the nearby city of Bulawayo. A piece of land was allocated to the women by the Village Head. This was an off-farming season project where women had ample time to meet. Beneficiary 9 said: "We sell vegetables and use some of the money to buy more seed. We also share some of the vegetables amongst ourselves" (Interview with Beneficiary 9, 5 June 2014). Another woman confirmed this:

We would hire a truck to ferry our vegetables, which would be sold in the market in the city of Bulawayo. This is some of the money we have been making. We have seen that as mothers we must also contribute something towards the household. It also makes my husband respect me if he can see that I am working (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 19 May 2015).

During the fieldwork visit in 2014, the researcher visited the garden and it was dry. The women were facing shortages of water because the electric pump for the borehole was faulty. This is the time when all beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm contributed money towards fuelling a local businessman's generator, which they used to pump water from a communal borehole. Electricity lines had also been cut. In order to save costs, they had access to the borehole only twice a week. This led to the temporary suspension of the project. Similar women's projects on FTLRP A1 farms have been documented in other studies, see Chingarande et al. (2012) and Mutopo (2014b).

Even though the vegetable project was temporarily suspended, women's effort to empower themselves is a significant step towards challenging patriarchal norms and asserting their presence in households through financial freedom. Beneficiary 5 confirmed this when she stated that "We have seen that asking for money from our husbands all the time to buy even the small things such as salt is not good. It creates tensions" (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 3 June 2014). Although this was a small step towards their emancipation, it is a benefit of FTLRP for women and would not have been possible had they not acquired land through FTLRP.

## **7.8 Conclusion**

The chapter discussed the benefits of the FTLRP on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. The chapter emanated from a debate between the critics of FTLRP who argue that FTLRP was largely a failure and supporters who argue that FTLRP provided livelihoods to beneficiaries mainly through agricultural production. The chapter showed that FTLRP provided livelihoods to many beneficiaries. These were agricultural production, livestock rearing and mining. The chapter argued that social capital created a conducive environment for the realisation of these livelihoods. It emphasised the importance of the social outcomes of FTLRP, which are largely neglected in academic literature. It highlighted the symbolic benefits of land, which are essential for the wellbeing of beneficiaries. These are; restoration of social justice to war veterans for their participation in the liberation struggle, creation of a sense of belonging, and women's empowerment.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **Fast Track Land Reform Programme and the A1 Villagised Model: Problems and Prospects**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses problems faced by beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm in the context of the A1 villagised model. It illustrates that most of the problems faced by beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm were a common feature of the FTLRP throughout the country. It shows that local government structures responsible for development did not have enough capacity to address most of the problems, due to lack of capital, leading to the formation of new social networks initiated by beneficiaries to address some of the problems. This response by beneficiaries shows that social capital is a valuable asset especially in addressing collective problems (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990) and is common throughout A1 villages in Zimbabwe. At this stage, the model was still capable of supporting the realisation of the benefits of land, although beneficiaries faced many problems of limited post-settlement support. This has been discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

The chapter argues that the flexibility of the A1 villagised model in accommodating the addition of beneficiaries on already allocated land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm is a much bigger and unique problem, whose implications are likely to negatively affect livelihoods. The fact that this decision by the District Land Committee (DLC) created divisions among beneficiaries and its likelihood of creating a strain on already inadequate social infrastructure and services is a major hindrance to social capital. As mentioned in the previous chapter, social capital is essential in creating a favourable environment for the creation of livelihoods. The chapter therefore argues that land reform models with a communal element and where post-settlement support is limited, should be designed in such a manner that they promote social capital. This unique analysis is a contribution to a wide gap in literature on the FTLRP whose main attention is on the material outcomes of the programme such as agricultural production and livelihoods. The limited studies on the non-material outcomes draw their analyses from Mashonaland and Masvingo Provinces, while this study focuses on a well under researched Matabeleland region. The study argues that these non-material outcomes of land are equally important.

The chapter is divided into three broad sections. The first section discusses the challenges emanating from limited post-settlement support faced by beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. These were: limited social infrastructure in the form of inadequate educational and health facilities, absence of police services and business centres, limited access to water, and ineffective extension services. The chapter will show that these problems are not unique to Rouxdale (R/E) farm, but are a common feature of A1 villages across the country.

The second section provides detail on the role of the local government structures responsible for addressing problems of beneficiaries. It also illustrates that, even though some of their development-focused social networks were functional, these structures largely failed to adequately address all the development needs of beneficiaries. This led to the formation of other social networks by beneficiaries to address some of their problems, validating the importance of social capital. The study emphasises that this response was common across the country.

The last section is a critique of the A1 villagised model. The study argues in this section, that the addition of new beneficiaries on already allocated land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was a major problem of the villagised model, the consequences of which would negatively affect livelihoods. The section discusses this decision of the DLC and its implications in creating division among beneficiaries and further straining already limited shared resources, thus hindering social capital. This negatively affects the realisation of the benefits of land. The study therefore argues that land reform models in a context, where part of the land and resources are communally shared, should be designed in such a manner that they promote social capital. This would create a conducive environment for the full realisation of the positive benefits of land.

## **8.2 Challenges of the FTLTP**

### **8.2.1 Limited social infrastructure**

Most challenges faced by beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm were common across the country. These emanated from the political and economic context in which FTLRP was implemented that incapacitated the government to adequately provide post-settlement support. At the onset of FTLRP, the country was faced with a serious economic and political crisis (Bond and Manyanya, 2002; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2006). Consequently, FTLRP, unlike the Old Resettlement programme of the 1980s, was implemented “without prior provision of



social infrastructure and services” (Moyo et al., 2009:125). A baseline survey covering five Districts in different agro-ecological zones of Zimbabwe reported that social services and infrastructure such as education, health care, transport, and local stores were inadequate in most FTLRP farms (Moyo et al., 2009). The government instructed beneficiaries in A1 farms to share social infrastructure and services (Murisa, 2013; Murisa, 2011). This shows the government’s intention to enhance social capital in the villagised model.

### **8.2.2 Inadequate educational facilities**

The situation on Rouxdale (R/E) farm is almost similar to Moyo et al. (2009)’s description above. When beneficiaries acquired land in 2000, there was no secondary school to cater for children’s education. Beneficiary 9 narrated: “When I got here there was no secondary school. So if your child had finished grade 7 and you didn’t have a house or relative in the city where they could continue with their education, the child could not proceed further” (Interview with Beneficiary 9, 5 June 2014). Children from surrounding Fast Track farms used an old farmhouse in one of the neighbouring farms as a secondary school, which is the case in most A1 villages in Zimbabwe (Murisa, 2013; Sukume et al., 2004). Beneficiary 7 stressed: “the old farmhouse which is being used as a secondary school does not have enough space to freely accommodate all children” (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 3 June 2014). Moreover, the school was not registered. Thus, children had to travel either to Bulawayo or Inyathi business centre which is approximately thirty kilometres either way from Rouxdale (R/E) farm to register to sit for examinations, especially the Ordinary Level, which are crucial to the future prospects and careers of children.

There was only one primary school in the area with two blocks of classrooms. It was built on a farm which shared a boundary with Rouxdale (R/E) farm before 2000 to cater for children of farmworkers. Informal conversations with school teachers revealed that, before FTLRP, the school accommodated only 42 children from neighbouring farms. After FTLRP, numbers had increased to 89. However, there was no improvement in school infrastructure, human resources and school materials to cater for the influx of learners. Beneficiary 4 explained that “the primary school is too small and does not have adequate resources such as text books and educational equipment, neither does it provide any exposure to sporting activities” (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). Lack of financial resources especially for school fees and necessary school materials were some of the challenges faced by school children as noted by teachers, and more often than not would be sacrificed for bread-and-butter issues.

A few beneficiaries, such as Beneficiary 4, who lived permanently on the farm, commuted their children daily to well-equipped schools with better facilities in Bulawayo (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). Maintaining contact with Bulawayo was a strategy for accessing better social facilities in the city which were not readily available on the farm. This is common in many Fast Track farms where beneficiaries maintain contact with their previous homes to access social services (Matondi and Dekker, 2011; Murisa, 2013).

### **8.2.3 Inadequate health facilities**

When beneficiaries moved onto the farm, there were no health facilities in close proximity or in the surrounding areas. Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located mid-way between Bulawayo and Inyathi District Centre, 30km either way. Beneficiaries had to travel these distances to access advanced medical attention. Even though an old farmhouse in one of the neighbouring A1 farms was being used as a clinic, it was not well equipped and did not cater for pregnant women.

An interview with Beneficiary 4 revealed the harrowing effects of not having a well-resourced medical centre on A1 villagised farms, especially in cases of medical emergencies. She narrated: “I remember my neighbour’s child got burnt at night and had to spend the whole night at home because there were no means of transporting him to the hospital. They ended up transporting the child the following day and it was too late, he ended up dying” (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). Beneficiary 7 also narrated a separate incident: “There was a car accident recently on the main road where three or four people died while waiting for an ambulance from either Bulawayo or Inyathi. If our clinic was fully equipped, it could cater for such emergencies” (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015). This challenge was very common in the A1 villages throughout the country. In farms where small clinics were available, most were severely under-resourced. Murisa (2013:260)’s highlighted the “unavailability of essential drugs” and basic clinic equipment in A1 farms of Goromonzi and Zvimba Districts. Thus, maintaining links with either Bulawayo or Inyathi was essential to access medical services.

### **8.2.4 Absence of police service and business centres**

At the onset of land allocation, beneficiaries also accessed police services and business centres in Bulawayo and Inyathi since there was no police station on Rouxdale (R/E) farm or in surrounding areas. There were no plans to establish a police service in the area, thus

security became an issue. Mr. Venebull, who was evicted from Rouxdale (R/E) farm had closed his grocery store which had served surrounding communities. Hence, beneficiaries had to travel to either Bulawayo or Inyathi for shopping, which was a huge financial burden because of transport costs. One of the beneficiaries from the nearby Rouxdale B farm, was permitted by the Ministry of Lands to establish a grocery shop, butchery and bar using the same facilities previously established by Mr. Venebull, located on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. At the time of fieldwork, he had established new and larger building structures for his expanding business.

#### **8.2.5 Inadequate access to water**

The farm had two boreholes. Only one of the boreholes was functioning, which they shared with the local businessman whose business centre was situated close to the borehole. Beneficiaries supplemented their water supply from a neighbouring A2 farm after a mutual agreement. Beneficiary 15 explained:

The dam belongs to another man who has a plot next to us. We were told that if you found a resource on your farm that could be useful to the public you are not allowed to prohibit them do to so. If you do not want people to use that resource, then it is cut out of your designated land. So when we came here this dam was there so we asked the owner of the farm to use it and he agreed... The dam is inside the plot. It's on the edge of our farm (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014).

Because water fetched from the dam was not clean, it was used for purposes of bathing and laundry. It is also where their cattle drank. The researcher observed that the dam was very small. Considering the dry agro-ecological environment of Bubi District with occasional droughts, the probability of the dam drying out in a few years was very high. Furthermore, it catered for the whole Rouxdale (R/E) farm village instead of a single household.

#### **8.2.6 Ineffective extension services**

Although there were extension services available on the farm mandated to capacitate beneficiaries in agricultural production, there were many challenges regarding this service. The extension officer assigned to the area did not have transport to frequently visit the A1 and A2 farmers in Ward 14, where Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located. This challenge was also faced by the veterinary officers. Additionally, the extension officer did not have a piece of land where he could demonstrate the kind of farming that he wanted to teach beneficiaries. He also complained about the lack of facilities from which he could conduct farming lessons

to Fast Track beneficiaries in the Ward. He stressed that beneficiaries did not attend meetings. Veterinary officers faced similar challenges.

Other than the role of disbursing inputs from the government, most beneficiaries highlighted the limited role of the extension officer in relation to their farming activities. Beneficiary 15 discussed some of her interactions with the extension officer. She noted that the extension officer disseminated information on agricultural shows: “Since we have harvested our crops, the extension officer told us that there will be an agricultural show for our goods. Last year we went for such a show as well as other farms in ward 14. People were given prizes. I won for having good groundnuts, so I had to go to a further competition for the whole Bubi District in Siganda” (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014).

Judging from these challenges of the extension service, it was, to a large extent, not effective in addressing the needs of beneficiaries. Beneficiary 3, for instance, highlighted: “the extension officer and veterinary officers came much later. But they have limited knowledge, they cannot not reach everybody and they also do not have transport. They want you to be the one who goes to them” (Interview with Beneficiary 3, 27 May 2015). These findings resonate with broader literature which highlights limitations of extension support in FTLRP resettled areas. Murisa (2013:267) points to “insufficient knowledge of the actual training needs and land use preferences” of beneficiaries as a significant challenge of extension support, considering that beneficiaries had different backgrounds.

### **8.3 Limited capacity of local government structures**

The Village Development Committee (VIDCO), the Ward Councillor representing the Rural District Council (RDC), representatives of the Department of Agriculture and Rural Extension (AREX), the ZANU PF chairperson for Ward 14 and the local chief were the local government structures present on Rouxdale (R/E) farm and in Ward 14 where the farm is located. The Village Head and the Ward Councillor were the most visible and active local government structures. The Councillor was responsible for initiating and implementing development in the Ward. She was the chair of the Ward Development Committee (WADCO) where all village heads in the Ward reported progress on the implementation of development projects in their respective villages (Murisa, 2009). In these meetings, the Councillor also introduced new projects from the Rural District Council (RDC) for implementation in all villages (Murisa, 2009). The School Development Committee (SDC)

for instance, was introduced by the Ward Councillor with the responsibility of ensuring that educational facilities in the Ward were adequately resourced.

As discussed in Chapter Four section 4.3.3, the Village Head had “administrative oversight of the village” and his responsibilities included chairing the Village Development Committee (VIDCO) (Murisa, 2009:178). The VIDCO is a selected group of representative beneficiaries with the responsibilities of addressing various development needs of the village, such as establishing and ensuring the maintenance of systems of communally “sharing the inherited infrastructure” (Murisa, 2009:178). On Rouxdale (R/E) farm, the main committees under the VIDCO structure were: the water committee, dipping committee, health committee, grazing land committee, and Environmental Management Agency (EMA) committee responsible for ensuring that beneficiaries complied with general environmental regulations. The roles of the VIDCO were not limited to these committees but covered all developmental issues. They point to the government’s aim to strengthen social capital in order to address various collective problems.

### **8.3.1 Challenges faced by the VIDCO and WADCO structures on Rouxdale (R/E) farm**

The VIDCO and WADCO structures on Rouxdale (R/E) farm faced many challenges. The main impediment to development was lack of financial support from the government to implement development projects. The fact that education facilities were still inadequate in 2014, fourteen years after land allocation, shows that the School Development Committee, initiated by WADCO, lacked capital. At the time of fieldwork, two classroom blocks were under construction through the initiative of the Ward Councillor, sponsored by the Rural District Council. However, these would not cater for all children in the Ward. Inadequate health facilities discussed earlier also point to the failure of the health committee to deliver due to lack of financial support. The shortage of water on Rouxdale (R/E) farm is another indicator of the failure of government to provide adequate water for beneficiaries through the Rural Development Council (RDC) due to lack of funds. Ineffective extension services discussed earlier also emanate from the same problem. Consequently, beneficiaries relied on their own finances to fund some of the VIDCO initiatives.

Another major problem of the VIDCO structure on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was the lack of cooperation of some beneficiaries. Interview data pointed to recurring discord in relationships within the village leading to divisions and opposing views concerning development projects.

Local authorities reported that some beneficiaries did not attend village development meetings. They complained that these deliberately worked against the plans of the VIDCO committees in order to derail its activities. This lack of cooperation was an impediment to the implementation of development projects.

Interviews with beneficiaries provided insight into this lack of cooperation. They complained that village meetings consumed too much time and diverted their focus from household and agricultural activities. Beneficiary 16 explained: “if you live on the farm you should attend every meeting, but at the rate at which meetings are called, people are not able to do their daily duties in their homes” (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 23 May 2015). VIDCO projects aimed at improving social infrastructure consumed time allocated for household productive work. Each household was expected to send a representative every Wednesday to provide labour in these village projects. Beneficiary 11 explained this:

Right now there is a primary school where we are supposed to work, and the secondary school we are supposed to build, we also need to meet to dig fire guards and clearing. You end up having too many things to do and so very little time. (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 27 May 2015).

Those beneficiaries living in the city did not regularly attend these VIDCO meetings. They also felt that, whenever they attended, their ideas were ignored by the Village Head because they did not reside on the farm. This exclusion discouraged them from attending meetings therefore contributing to lack of cooperation. This environment works against the core elements of social capital, which are trust and norms that enhance cooperation and the resolution of collective problems (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990). Indeed the “sharing [of] common values,” which is at the heart of social capital (Field, 2003:1), was highly compromised by the limited cooperation from beneficiaries in VIDCO activities.

An analysis of the role of the Village Head in the VIDCO structure shows that its success is dependent on their ability to coordinate beneficiaries, despite the lack of financial support from the government. In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, the unpopularity of the Village Head and the general lack of respect for his authority could have contributed towards the lack of cooperation from beneficiaries. As noted in Chapter Seven in section 7.3.1, many beneficiaries did not have good relations with the Village Head. Beneficiary 17 said: “if you are the kind of leader who always does corrupt things, on the day that you discuss regulations

with us, we will not listen you” implying that the he was a corrupt leader (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014). Beneficiary 16 concurred:

It was suggested in a meeting that he should have found a vice chairperson whom he sends to people’s homesteads to call people to a meeting, but he refused. He prefers to be the one visiting people’s homes. How can we respect him? If he individually comes to our homes? He wants to know what we are doing day to day and what programmes we are up to (Interview with beneficiary 16, 23 May 2015).

Other beneficiaries concurred with Beneficiary 18, with one of them describing the Village Head as the “eye of the government” that investigates those who politically oppose the ZANU PF ruling party. Lack of tertiary education by the Village Head and many beneficiaries was also identified as a barrier to effective development (Interview with Beneficiary 3, 27 May 2015).

The imposition of local governance structures in A1 villagised farms such as Rouxdale (R/E) farm shows that government was aware that indeed social capital is important in a model with a communal element. This was further confirmed by government instruction that all beneficiaries in A1 villagised farms were to share inherited resources (Murisa, 2011; Murisa, 2013). This means that the government’s intention was for the local leadership and development structures to coordinate the social organisation of beneficiaries. In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, the introduction of the local governance structures dissolved a once well-coordinated war veteran network responsible for land occupations. Judging by the various challenges faced by these leadership and development structures, the study emphasises that the kind of social capital they created was much weaker than that of the war veteran-led social network.

The VIDCO structure had some notable successes on Rouxdale (R/E) farm despite all the challenges discussed above. The water and the dipping committees were stronger networks, which coordinated the use of shared resources and effectively oversaw the management of cattle theft. These networks contributed to the functioning of the A1 villagised model through livelihood creation. Below is a brief analysis of these networks:

### **8.3.2 Water management network**

The water committee formed a network to coordinate the availability and usage of water on the farm. During the first fieldwork visit in 2014, the borehole pump had broken and the

electricity lines had been stolen. The local businessman who also relied on the same borehole for his business, lent the committee a generator to pump water from the borehole on condition that they contributed towards fuel. Beneficiaries contributed US \$5 per month towards fuelling the generator. In order to cut fuel costs, they only had access to the borehole twice a week. This is where they fetched water for household use only. Water for other purposes such as bathing and laundry was fetched in the neighbouring dam.

On the second field visit in 2015, the borehole pump had been replaced and electricity lines were functioning. Beneficiaries now shared the cost of electricity bills to run the borehole pump. This time there were no restrictions on the number of days that beneficiaries had access to the borehole water. However, access to water was still inadequate. Beneficiary 17 expressed this view:

I need a borehole. Water is a problem. We have a borehole now, but you find that it also supplies the business centre that belongs to the local businessman. If you start looking for pipes, and draw water to our homesteads, you will put a strain on the engine and it would also cause tensions with other farmers. But if I were to get another borehole that does not have any regulations, I would be able to earn a living (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 20 May 2015).

This network had challenges, for instance, some beneficiaries did not contribute their finances on time because they did not have the money. However, it was a successful and sustainable VIDCO initiative. Part of its success owed to the fact that beneficiaries did not rely on the government for funds to ensure the management of the water source.

The way in which beneficiaries organised the maintenance and functioning of the borehole to access water is an example of social capital. Putnam et al. (1993:167) define social capital as “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” Indeed, this coordination of beneficiaries, which reflected these aspects of social capital, is well documented in literature (Murisa, 2013; Mkodzongi, 2013a; Moyo et al., 2009).

### **8.3.3 Cattle owners’ networks**

Due to the visible absence of a police service in the area, crime was prevalent there, especially livestock theft. Beneficiaries initiated a cattle owners’ network through the VIDCO structure on Rouxdale (R/E) and Rouxdale B farms. Its membership extended to include beneficiaries from surrounding A1 villagised farms such as Silas Hope and Raafs.



Beneficiary 7 described the cattle theft problem in the area: “Cattle theft is the main problem because we are close to the main road. They come and lead the cattle to the road, kill it and then throw it into the car” (Interview with Beneficiary 7, 3 June 2014). Beneficiary 5, concurred: “There is a time when a cow was taken from my kraal and when I woke up in the morning I noticed that it was missing immediately. So we woke up and looked for it and found out that it had been killed in the bush” (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 19 May 2015). There were delays in reporting cattle theft due to the long distance to police stations as well as lack of progress in catching the perpetrators of such crimes. This made it very difficult to track cattle thieves. Cattle theft has been identified as a major problem affecting most A1 farms and was well documented by other scholars focusing on the Masvingo Province (Scoones et al., 2010) and Mazowe District (Matondi, 2012) to mention a few.

On Rouxdale (R/E) farm, cattle owners organised themselves to conduct night patrols to protect their livestock from thieves. They sought the assistance of police stationed at Queenspark, located in Bulawayo, to assist with the patrols. Fieldwork interviews revealed that other beneficiaries in nearby A1 farms also conducted these night patrols. Due to difficulties in accessing police officers, beneficiaries from surrounding A1 farms formed a committee to liaise with local authorities to seek permission to establish a police station which would be accessible to them. On being granted permission by the Provincial Commissioner of the police service, beneficiaries built a police station using bricks from an old building on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. They all contributed financially towards other building costs. The police station is located on Rouxdale (R/E) farm next to the business centre. It has benefited surrounding A1 and A2 beneficiaries by controlling crime in the area.

The formation of the cattle owner-led network is an example of social capital. This network was successful in overcoming a common problem of cattle theft. Beneficiaries continued with the night patrols with the assistance of police. They acknowledged that, after the police station was established, the problem of cattle theft, which had once been a daily occurrence, became rare. Beneficiary 16 related: “there used to be a lot of cattle theft, but ever since there was a police station here the thefts have decreased significantly” (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014). Beneficiary 11 confirmed this when he stated: “if you see a cow being stolen now, it means that someone amongst us would have organised it because we are the ones who know when the patrols are conducted” (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 3 June 2014). This shows that, even though this network did not necessarily draw from past

friendships, there was an element of trust which cemented relationships to achieve a common goal. Trust is, according to Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1990), an important element of social capital.

Another cattle network was also present on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. When beneficiaries moved onto the land, the dip was not functional. They coordinated themselves through the dipping committee of the VIDCO structure to resuscitate the dip. Beneficiaries generally cooperated with local veterinary officers through paying the required \$2 per beast per year, for purchasing dipping chemicals. During fieldwork visits, the researcher observed a smooth coordination of the use of the dip. First, beneficiaries took turns to fill the dip with water. Second, on dipping days, beneficiaries arrived with their cattle at the agreed time. The dipping committee leader, with the assistance of veterinary officers, coordinated the dipping process while registering the number of cattle from each household being dipped. This is evidence of a cattle social network collaborating with local authorities for the public good, proving the invaluable nature of social capital. It is through these networks that a better environment for the rearing of livestock as a livelihood discussed in the previous chapter was created.

#### **8.3.4 Ward 14 projects**

Beneficiaries were not allowed to work in their arable plots on Wednesdays and this is a common norm in Zimbabwe's communal areas. Any collective village activity on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was scheduled on Wednesdays. At the time of fieldwork, beneficiaries from surrounding A1 farms, including Rouxdale (R/E) farm, were building a secondary school block that was centrally located for ease of access by everyone. This was an initiative of the Ward Councillor' School Development Fund sponsored by the Rural District Council funds. The plan was to build two blocks. At the time of fieldwork in 2015, beneficiaries were still constructing the first block. As noted earlier, this was a good government project. However, the two blocks of classrooms would not adequately cater for all the children in the surrounding farms. The fact that this development was implemented in 2014, fourteen years after beneficiaries were allocated land is an indicator of the slow progress of development due to limited post-settlement support. At village level, beneficiaries collaborated to attend to veld fires, building fireguards wherever necessary through the VIDCO structure.

## **8.4 Emerging social networks**

The problems faced by beneficiaries discussed earlier in the chapter are glaring. Government leadership structures and development initiatives such as VIDCO and WADCO also did not have the capacity to address all challenges. Although some of their development initiatives were successful, they dealt with only a small fraction of all problems. Indeed, limited post-settlement support had negative effects on the development of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. FTLRP beneficiaries did not have adequate social support such as the “lineage framework” prevalent in communal areas (Murisa, 2011:1146). As in other parts of the country, the participation of non-state actors such as Non-Governmental Organisations to address these problems was absent (Murisa, 2011). The dissolution of the war veteran-led network responsible for land occupations worsened the situation. Social capital seemed to be the most valuable means of addressing these problems.

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that other networks emerged, initiated by beneficiaries themselves, to address some of the many collective problems and this is common in A1 villagised farms across the country (Mutopo, 2014b; Mkodzongi, 2013a; Murisa, 2011). As noted in Chapter Two, social capital is essential for tackling communal problems (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000). By addressing these and other collective problems, beneficiaries created a better environment for the attainment of the benefits of land discussed in the previous chapter. These networks are the subject of the next section.

### **8.4.1 The burial club**

The formation of a burial club by women on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was another form of social capital. Just like the cattle owners network, the burial club’s membership was drawn from various A1 farms in the surrounding area. A burial club is a network of people who collectively contribute towards providing financial and social support upon the death of each member and their close family members. Interviews revealed that those who did not join the burial club on Rouxdale (R/E) farm had maintained membership of their burial clubs in the city of Bulawayo. Thus, the networks of the previous place of residence were also important.

Members of the burial club on Rouxdale (R/E) farm explained that they met once a month where they made stipulated financial contributions to the club. Benefits of the club covered club members and their immediate families. If someone died, a stipulated amount of money would be disbursed to the family to assist with funeral proceedings. Club members also

provided social and emotional support to the family in preparation for the funeral. This was important, especially in the absence of the lineage support found in communal areas highlighted by Murisa (2011). The researcher attended a funeral that was organised by the burial club in 2014. Club members contributed towards purchasing a coffin for the deceased and towards food. Beneficiaries from surrounding A1 farms attended the funeral, including Village Heads and the Ward Councillor showing that, fourteen years after land allocation in 2000, communities had been established. This is an example of women's social capital contributing towards community development.

The burial club had other important functions, illustrating Mutopo (2014b)'s view that women have very creative skills in networking. Firstly, during burial club meetings, time was allocated to educating each other on empowering life skills. Beneficiary 8 noted some of the issues they discussed: "We teach each other on issues of motherhood, how to treat our husbands and children and our rights as women" (Interview with Beneficiary 8, 9 July 2014). Secondly, the burial club functioned as a rotating club. During monthly meetings, each member was required to bring stipulated household items such as plates and dish towels. All these would be given to one member, and this rotated in successive months until every member had received the same items, after which the members decided on the item to contribute in the next rotation. This function of the club was an opportunity for members to acquire household items in bulk. It cushioned them from having to purchase these at very high prices from the market in the face of an ailing economy. The adherence to the norms of the network and regular communication created trust, which is an important component of social capital (Coleman, 1990). Scholars of social capital use a rotating club as a perfect example of trust as a core element of social capital (Coleman, 1990; Putnam et al., 1993). This kind of networking is a common feature on A1 farms across Zimbabwe, see Mutopo (2014b) and Mkodzongi (2013a).

#### **8.4.2 Churches**

Various churches on surrounding A1 farms (including Rouxdale (R/E) farm), were other networking spaces. Some beneficiaries living permanently on the farm attended churches on nearby A1 farms according to their preference, therefore widening the scope of their networks. Most churches were conducted in people's residential plots, since there was no infrastructure to accommodate churches at the time of fieldwork. They were an important source of social support. Only the Seventh Day Adventist Church had been allocated a piece

of land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm for a church building because it was, according to beneficiaries, the church of one of the local authorities. The structure of the church was not yet constructed. The establishment of churches as social networks on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was not new. Other studies such as Moyo et al. (2009), Murisa (2013) and Mkodzongi (2013b) also discussed these.

#### **8.4.3 Agricultural production-related networks**

The Wednesday communal projects organised by the VIDCO and WADCO created a space for the emergence of networks with other beneficiaries from surrounding A1 villages. This explains why most networks formed by beneficiaries extended beyond the borders of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. In response to inadequate extension support, beneficiaries exchanged information on issues related to agricultural production during these communal projects. Farm development issues such as sourcing affordable tractor services during the ploughing period, locating nearby grinding mills and sharing information on where to purchase cheaper farm inputs in Bulawayo, were some of the issues discussed. Lin (2001) highlights the importance of sharing valuable ideas and knowledge in social networks, which, according to Coleman (1990), facilitates the implementation of collective ideas. Without these kinds of networks, many beneficiaries would not have accessed the livelihood benefits of land discussed in Chapter Seven. These networks are well documented in literature, see Mutopo (2014b), Chiweshe (2011), (Murisa, 2009) and Mkodzongi (2013a). The following section is a description of the agricultural production-related networks on Rouxdale (R/E) farm.

##### **a) Networks related to the sale of agricultural produce**

The sale of agricultural produce created strong networks on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, some of which extended to surrounding nearby farms in the Ward. None of the beneficiaries interviewed sold their produce in the city of Bulawayo, which is only 30 kilometres away from the farm. They preferred to sell to people within their close networks, whom they knew because of trust that was built over a long period of time. As noted in Chapter 6 section 7.2, some sold their maize to surrounding farms and farmworker compounds (Interview with Beneficiary 14, 9 July 2014). It is from these networks that beneficiaries procured seasonal labour, which is the subject of the next section. Some beneficiaries sold milk to neighbours on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, who did not have cattle, and this strengthened these friendships therefore solidifying social capital. Beneficiary 15 noted: “My cattle give me a lot of milk which I sell to my friends who are within the farm here” (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12

June 2014). These findings confirm that indeed social capital is an important resource from which members of social networks benefit (Bourdieu, 1986; Field, 2003).

#### **b) Labour procurement networks**

Labour procurement networks also emerged through friendships of some of the beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Interview data revealed that some beneficiaries created friendships with those people who were hired by beneficiaries living in the city to take care of their land. These full-time labourers also made use of these friendships to hire out their labour for small tasks to supplement their income. Beneficiary 4 stated that she usually hired these labourers to assist with cutting grass in her yard. As someone skilled in sewing, in one instance, she paid one of the labourers by sewing a school uniform for the labourer's child (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). She narrated that "these women are many and they need to make some extra income for themselves so they come and help us" (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). Friendships are a perfect example of the norm of generalised reciprocity which, according to Putnam et al. (1993), creates strong relationships based on trust.

As discussed in Chapter Six section 6.6, some beneficiaries relied on seasonal labour during peak agricultural seasons for tasks such as cultivating and weeding their arable plots. Social networks emerged from the relations of beneficiaries with these labourers from surrounding areas. Beneficiary 15 noted that she hired people who were squatting on nearby farms whose labour was always readily available. She related: "we now have close relationships with those squatters because, when they come to work for us we pay them on time. Once they finish their task, we immediately pay them and they run to buy beer" (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014). This shows that trust within these relationships was established, which is an important element of social capital. Beneficiary 18 added that they created lasting relationships with seasonal labourers from nearby farmworker compounds and surrounding areas (Interview with Beneficiary 18, 4 June 2014). These findings clearly portray the resourcefulness of social capital which benefited these social networks through livelihood creation (Bourdieu, 1986; Lin, 2001).

#### **c) Hiring out of farming tools**

Within Rouxdale (R/E) farm, beneficiaries who did not have cattle hired draught power from those with cattle. Their social capital with other beneficiaries played a key role in accessing

these services. Beneficiary 13 narrated: “I ask my neighbours to plough my arable plot for a fee. Whoever agrees then tells me the day that they will be available” (Interview with Beneficiary 13, 21 May 2015). This is an example of beneficiaries using social capital to address problems and build social cohesion. The biggest challenge emerging out of these networks was that hiring draught power delayed the ploughing and crop cultivation processes. Beneficiary 7 explained:

The only challenge is that I do not have cattle, so the people whom I hire to plough for me only start after they have finished ploughing their own arable plots and this delays the whole process. Therefore, I am always a stage behind those who plough with their own cattle and those who hire tractors (Interview with beneficiary 7, 18 May 2015).

This challenge does not mean that these relationships were not beneficial. They are a perfect example of resourcefulness of social capital in livelihood creation.

In some stronger friendships, beneficiaries with cattle lent their cattle to their friends to plough their arable plots expecting nothing in return. These friendships extended further to assisting each other with various tasks on arable plots. Beneficiary 10 expressed:

Long back my friend who lives here in the farm didn't have cattle so I would lend him mine so that he could till the land...and now because we have a relationship, we help each other in the field. On this day we go to my arable plot, then the next day we go to theirs (Interview with Beneficiary 10, 9 June 2014).

This shows beneficiaries' use of social capital for the creation of livelihoods. These kinds of friendships reflect norms of generalized reciprocity that establish stronger relationships based on trust (Putnam et al., 1993). They are a core element of social capital.

#### **8.4.4 Mining networks**

The two beneficiaries engaging in mining activities interviewed were part of mining social networks whose membership included people from surrounding A1 farms and former farmworker compounds. Beneficiary 1 for instance, registered his mine with the Ministry of Mines jointly with his brother and a friend from outside Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Having lived on Rouxdale (R/E) as a son of a former farmworker (see Chapter Five section 5.2.3), he had strong friendships with people in the surrounding area especially former farmworkers who lived in former farmworker compounds. Through these networks, he procured labour that had previous experience in gold panning (Interview with Beneficiary 1, 25 May 2015). This

means that there was an element of trust in these relationships with former farmworkers that were built before way before FTLRP in 2000.

Beneficiary 11 also jointly registered his mine with three members, some of whom lived outside Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Each member hired their own labour with whom they shared a percentage of the proceeds in the event that they found gold. Beneficiary 11 procured labour from his networks with people from surrounding farms and farmworker compounds whom he trusted and who had experience in gold panning since Bubi District is generally a mining area (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 3 June 2014).

These separate mining stories portray two layers of networks. The first is that of the owners of mining licences. The second layer is those networks of people recruited as labour from surrounding communities. This shows that indeed social capital is an important element of livelihood creation. The fact that these beneficiaries engaged labour within their existing networks also highlights the importance of trust in “lubricat[ing] cooperation” (Putnam et al., 1993:171). Post-FTLRP mining livelihoods are not peculiar to Rouxdale (R/E) farm but are a common feature across the country, see Moyo et al. (2009), Scoones et al. (2010) and Mkodzongi (2013a).

#### **8.4.5 Social capital**

The social networks discussed here are what Putnam et al. (1993) calls horizontal networks, whose composition is of people who are more or less of equal social standing and influence. The networks prove that many beneficiaries were settled on the land. Creating strategic relationships was a critical element of survival against challenges. The fact that Rouxdale (R/E) farm beneficiaries established networks with beneficiaries outside the farm is also a critical aspect of social capital necessary for cushioning themselves in times of need. Those who failed to fit into relationships within the farm had options of relying on these wider networks in surrounding A1 farms and the nearby city of Bulawayo. The presence of the burial society shows that many beneficiaries had a sense of belonging within Rouxdale (R/E) farm and surrounding A1 farms. It shows that they considered the farm as their permanent home for the rest of their lives where they planned to be buried at death. It is also an illustration of women initiatives in the development of new FTLRP communities. At this stage, the model was still capable of supporting the attainment of the benefits of land, although beneficiaries faced many problems of limited post-settlement support. The



weakness of the A1 villagised model, of allowing more beneficiaries to be added on already allocated, land became a new and unique problem with a high potential of threatening the sustainability of these networks, including those created by VIDCO structures. This is the subject of the next section.

### **8.5 Challenges of the A1 villagised model**

As discussed in Chapter Four, one of the aims of the A1 villagised model was the “decongestion and relief of land pressure in overpopulated areas” (GoZ., 2001:11). These were communal and urban areas, with the majority of the “landless, unemployed and disadvantaged people” (Moyo et al., 2009:8). It aimed to eradicate the problem of “squatting” in both rural and urban areas by providing land to the majority Zimbabweans (GoZ., 2001:11). It sought to enhance agricultural production levels of smallholder farmers (GoZ., 2001).

The A1 model has, to a large extent, been successful according to the supporters of FTLRP. Various studies have shown how the model (both self-contained and villagised) enhanced livelihoods of beneficiaries’ households in various parts of Zimbabwe (Matondi, 2012; Moyo, 2013a; Scoones et al., 2010; Mkodzongi, 2013b). This is despite many challenges faced by beneficiaries. What is missing in these studies is a critique of the A1 models to ascertain their capability to maintain livelihood provision. This is the focus of the rest of this chapter.

#### **8.5.1 Re-allocation of already allocated land: a national problem**

Interviews with land officials revealed that there was a continuous addition of beneficiaries onto A1 villagised farms on land previously earmarked for communal grazing. This, according to one the land officials interviewed, was a national occurrence (Interview with land official, 30 October 2014). The researcher observed that on Rouxdale B (A1 farm near Rouxdale (R/E), eleven beneficiaries had been allocated land in addition to the original sixteen beneficiaries who had received land in 2000.

The land officials highlighted that, fifteen years after the onset of FTLRP (2015, at the time of final field visit), there was still huge pressure for land, with people on waiting lists in District Land Offices increasing exponentially every year. They explained that the Minister of Land and Agriculture used this mounting pressure for land as the main explanation for

adding more beneficiaries on A1 farms. According to officials, the minister justified this decision as a form of the intensification of agriculture. However, one of the officials explained that this was illogical because “adding more people is capital intensive and as it is there is very little agricultural support especially in the A1, beneficiaries do not have collateral to access money” (Interview with land official, 30 October 2014). This official version of the minister was glossing over the real reasons for adding more people on A1 farms.

The real reasons, according to land officers, were politically motivated. They explained that it was steered by political figures who used allocation of land as a means of garnering votes from beneficiaries. This is drawn from the ongoing belief that providing land to people in rural areas increases the probability of beneficiaries voting for responsible politicians (Interview with land official, 22 September 2014). Resettlement areas were, according to officials, bases of support for ZANU PF where beneficiaries could easily be politicised. One official further explained:

If you tell most of the people who acquired land that I will evict you from the land if you don't vote for ZANU PF they get afraid, so in other words if politicians bring in more people in A1 villagised areas they will get more votes (Interview with land official, 30 October 2014).

Another official concurred:

It is easier to control people in rural areas than urban people. As you can see, most of the opposition seats are in urban areas. In rural areas it is easy to threaten them by telling them that when you vote I will be watching you, I have machines that see you. It is also easy to gather them and indoctrinate them in the bush. So politicians would rather have more people in rural areas where they will politicise them easily (Interview with land official, 2 October 2014).

These quotations show the nature and extent of the politicisation of land through the FRLRP. Officials even highlighted the likelihood of more people being added onto A1 farms in preparation for the 2018 elections in other parts of the country. Academic literature confirms the views of the officials. ZANU PF has, since independence, enjoyed rural electoral support and, over the years, became more and more repressive to people in the country especially rural areas (Jambawo, 2017; Bracking, 2005). Jambawo (2017) notes that rural people have always voted for ZANU PF for fear of politically motivated violence and intimidation and to secure their land. He notes that small-scale farmers who received land through FTLRP were always paying their allegiance by voting for ZANU PF to secure their tenure on land

(Jambawo, 2017). Raftopoulos (2002) adds that it is easier to organise rural people in compulsory village meetings for elections through fear and intimidation. He highlights instances where rural people were threatened that casting their vote was not a secret but could be seen by their observers (Raftopoulos, 2002). Bracking (2005) concurs that rural voters were more easily terrified, easily swayed by nationalist propaganda and the promises of government to develop their areas. Thus, they were easily swayed to vote for ZANU PF (Bracking, 2005).

A close analysis of interview data showed that this addition of people on A1 farms had spilled over to the Old Resettlement areas of the 1980s to the 1990s in many parts of the country. In the case of Matabeleland North Province, more people were added in areas of Mbembesi 3 and Mbembesi 5 which are under Bubi District where Rouxdale (R/E) is located. More people were also added in nearby Districts such as the Kenmore Farm in Lupane District and Mbembesi 4 and Insuza in Umguza District (Interview with land official, 30 October 2014).

The land officials interviewed had no control over issues of addition of beneficiaries to A1 villages. One of them explained:

We get directives to put people on certain pieces of land, we have no power to refuse. We do not have a say. We can explain in writing how it will cause problems, but because they want votes from the people, they will push us to add more people in A1 farms (Interview with land official, 22 September 2014).

Original beneficiaries of A1 villages also did not have land rights to successfully contest this addition of people. Any attempt to contest these decisions had to be channelled through the DLC officers, some of whom capitalised on these additions by adding more people through corrupt means (Interview with land official, 2 October 2014).

### **8.5.2 Re-allocation of already allocated land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm**

In the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm, twenty-two households were originally allocated land, as discussed in detail in Chapter Five. During the first fieldwork visit in 2014, twenty-two more households were added bringing the total number of households on the farm to forty-four. The new beneficiaries' residential plots were pegged on communal grazing land in August 2014. During the second field visit in May 2015, some beneficiaries had built temporary structures on their residential plots and had planted a few crops in their gardens. Their arable

plots were yet to be pegged, also on communal grazing land. The idea of adding children of beneficiaries to A1 farms is not new, as has been documented by Mkodzongi (2013a:69)'s study of Mhondoro-Ngezi, where a new village was set aside on state land to be allocated to children of beneficiaries. According to Mkodzongi (2013a:69), the village, before it was registered, was occupied illegally by people through informal means and political connections. This is different from the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm where beneficiaries were legally added onto a farm that had already been allocated. No new village had previously been set aside for this purpose.

The addition of beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was initiated from within, not from outside by politicians. Original beneficiaries had approached local authorities requesting that their children be allocated land on the farm. The application procedure was in the form of submitting children's identity documents to the Village Head. A few of the interviewed beneficiaries did not submit the required documents, having disagreed with local authorities about the idea of adding new beneficiaries. For those who did, the general understanding was that each beneficiary's child, or person of choice, would acquire land on the farm. Some of those who did not have children applied on behalf of their full-time employees who ran their homesteads while they lived in the city. The general expectation was that additional beneficiaries would be drawn from within the farm. However, this was not the case. The critique of the A1 model lies within the outcomes of this addition of beneficiaries, but the nature of social relations before this addition, which provides an insight into this problem, is the subject of the next section.

### **8.5.3 Social relations before the addition of beneficiaries**

During the first few years of moving onto the land, beneficiaries found it very difficult to build strong relationships amongst each other even though they had once been part of a very strong war veteran-led social network responsible for land allocations. In Chapter Five, the study showed that the friendships of most war veterans who formed the core of the network started during the years of the liberation struggle in the 1970s and were solidified by living together in the same township in Bulawayo soon after independence until 2000 when they acquired land through FTLRP. The previous chapters have shown how these relationships became fractured and weak due to various factors emanating from the weaknesses of the villagised model and the imposition of the local governance structures.

A close analysis of data revealed some explanations for the difficulty in creating strong relationships. Firstly, beneficiaries complained that their residential plots were located too close to each other such that there was no privacy. One of the land officials explained the logic behind this structure of the A1 villagised model. He narrated that the A1 villagised model residential design (see Figure 4 in Chapter Seven, section 7.3.1) was adopted and modified from the Model A of the Old Resettlement programme between 1980 and 1999.<sup>3</sup> The model A plan had a residential plot without an orchard (what is depicted as a garden in Figure 4). However, beneficiaries expressed various problems, such as lack of privacy, emanating from the Model A structure. Drawing from lessons from the Model A scheme, the Department of Rural Development restructured the A1 villagised model under FTLRP to include the orchard. In explaining the A1 villagised model residential structure, the official said:

...the diagonal set up of orchards was meant to shield adjacent residential plots from each other using fruit trees. This idea was however alien to farmers exacerbated by inadequate water for irrigation of the orchards hence there was no buy-in. Instead, beneficiaries cleared the indigenous trees and developed rain-fed gardens where they plant their early crop. Note that residential plots were deliberately clustered so as to save money for laying of water-pipes and electricity power-lines as the dream was to reticulate water and electrify each residential plot (Email communication with land official, 22 May 2017).

This description of the official matched the researcher's observations during the period of fieldwork. There were no orchards on the land but gardens, as portrayed in Figure 4. The residential plots were also clustered together, confirming the official's description. While the official's explanation of the thinking behind this structure is practical and logical, it did not address the problem of lack of privacy of beneficiaries due to the removal of orchards by beneficiaries. Beneficiary 9 related: "These residential plots are too close. There is no privacy, you end up hearing what the neighbours are speaking. We are too close to our neighbours. If you are not looking for gossip you will not follow that" (Interview with Beneficiary 9, 21 May 2015). This created problems of gossip resulting in divisions among beneficiaries. Other problems caused by the close proximity of residential plots were livestock-related. Beneficiary 5 narrated: "It was hard because we would have conflicts because of chickens. One would think that their chickens have laid eggs in their neighbours'

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<sup>3</sup> Model A entailed a small residential stand, 5 hectares of arable land in agro-ecological regions 1 and 2, and double this amount for those in drier regions (Moyo 1995:86).

home and the neighbour has eaten the eggs” (Interview with Beneficiary 5, 3 June 2014). Another instance of livestock-related conflict has been discussed in detail in Chapter Seven, section 7.3.1. Fieldwork observation revealed that, even if beneficiaries had planted orchards, this would not have solved the problem because, as long as many residential plots shared boundaries, they remained too clustered. This structure contributed to the weakening of a once very strong war veteran-led network.

Some beneficiaries felt that the close proximity of residential plots could have been government’s mechanism of closely monitoring their political status and movements. This resonates with the general expectation that all FTLRP beneficiaries be ZANU PF supporters, which is well documented in literature (Matondi, 2012; Zamchiya, 2011; Mkodzongi, 2013a). This is evidenced by the fact that all members of the war veteran-led network living at the base were required to sign ZANU PF forms as part of the procedure for acquiring land (Interview with Beneficiary 11, 3 June 2014).

The study emphasises that the planners of the villagised model did not take into consideration that beneficiaries originated from different backgrounds and that the model would contribute towards hindering social capital. Beneficiary 4 explained:

We all come from different areas and have our own way of doing things, and different cultures whenever we come from. Everyone wants to practice their own norms and customs and now that people are old, how can you change them? (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015).

This is very problematic, especially in hindering the formation of strong social networks, considering the combination of the close proximity of beneficiaries’ residential plots with all these different backgrounds.

In the case of Mazowe District, Matondi (2012:224) highlighted that those who originated from the same area had much closer social networks on FTLRP farms. However, Beneficiary 4’s view shows that, even though most beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm originated from the same urban area, they struggled to foster close relationships. A possible explanation could be that the war veterans forming the core of the network had strong ties while living in the city where they did not share any resources communally. The communal structure of the A1 village where they found themselves sharing scarce resources and interacting with each on a more regular basis than before, could have created a strain on the previously strong

friendships. A similar view is also documented in other studies. It confirms Mkodzongi (2013a)'s case of Mhondoro-Ngezi, that, although beneficiaries shared a common objective of acquiring land, these relationships were strained by the competition for resources after land was allocated.

As the years progressed, beneficiaries became more tolerant of each other due to challenges that required collective action discussed earlier. Some shared mechanisms they engaged in minimising conflict. Beneficiary 16 explained:

If you get into your home and mind your business, attend meetings and ask your neighbour how they are doing, and go back to your home. That way we minimise conflicts amongst ourselves because the reality is that we can never change each other (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 4 August 2014).

They all emphasised that, while they were not as communal as those in communal areas, there had been an improvement in the manner in which they related to each other. Similar analyses can be drawn from other studies on social relations after FTLRP in Zimbabwe (Mkodzongi, 2013b; Murisa, 2013). The study argues that the addition of new beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm weakened these existing relationships and undermined social capital and that this is the major problem of the villagised model.

#### **8.5.4 Social relations after the addition of beneficiaries**

The addition of beneficiaries on the farm created tensions among beneficiaries and further barriers to social capital. Fieldwork evidence showed that only a few beneficiaries' children acquired land and the rest were people from outside the farm. Beneficiaries were therefore divided between those whose children acquired land and those whose children did not. Beneficiary 16, whose relative did not acquire land narrated:

But when the list of people acquired land came out, we discovered that there were names we did not know, which none of us had written. We asked whose names they were and where they came from and they said those people had applied for the land directly through the Ministry of Lands office in Bulawayo (Interview with Beneficiary 16, 22 May 2015).

On the other hand, Beneficiary 15, whose child had acquired land said:

Even if people get angry it does not change anything because land was allocated through a first-come-first-serve method; they did not discriminate using tribe or language differences. Those who responded quickly acquired land. Land is for all Zimbabweans which is why they took people from all walks of life (Interview with Beneficiary 15, 12 June 2014).

The above quotations show that, while beneficiaries whose children did not acquire land felt that the process of allocation was unfair, those who acquired land thought that it was fair and transparent.

Another interesting dynamic emanating from the interview data is that Beneficiary 15 and Beneficiary 14's children who acquired land, lived in the nearby countries of South Africa and Botswana at the time of fieldwork. This means that they were not immediately planning to settle permanently on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Their pieces of land, especially the arable plots, would be utilised by their parents to supplement agricultural production in their absence. Ironically, some of the children who did not acquire land resided on Rouxdale (R/E) farm during the period of fieldwork. For instance, Beneficiary 13's sons, one of whom lived with her, did not acquire land. As discussed in detail in Chapter Five, Beneficiary 13 was the wife of a former farmworker on Rouxdale (R/E) farm whose children did not acquire land (Interview with Beneficiary 13, 21 May 2015). Beneficiary 13's children were unhappy about what they felt was an unfair distribution of land for children.

None of the full-time employees nominated by some beneficiaries living in the city acquired land. Fieldwork interviews revealed that they were bitter about not obtaining land. One of the full-time employees, who is of a Shona tribe expressed this view:

We did not acquire land because we do not come from Matabeleland. However, we are the ones who participate in community projects (such as cutting down trees and building the school) on behalf of our employees, and yet we were excluded from the land allocation (Informal conversation with full-time employee, 5 June 2014).

This clearly portrays the nature of tensions created by the addition of beneficiaries on already allocated land.

Those beneficiaries whose children did not acquire land felt that the failure of local authorities to explain the outcome of the land allocation was a clear case of corruption (Interview with Beneficiary 4, 26 May 2015). Some land officials confirmed cases of corruption in land allocations of this nature. One of the officials narrated that where the process of adding new beneficiaries was initiated by Village Heads of various A1 villages through approaching the District Land Committee (DLC), the DLC first sought for approval from the Provincial Land Committee (PLC) after which they took control of the selection of



beneficiaries. This is where “officials capitalise on such situations because of corruption to add their own people” (Interview with land official 30 October 2014). Under such circumstances, the possibility of corruption in the allocation of land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm cannot be eliminated.

This division between beneficiaries whose children acquired land and those whose children did not, has serious implications. Firstly, there was no consideration of what would happen to those children who did not acquire land but still lived with their parents on the farm. It is obvious that they would still need land, given that they had families of their own. There is also a possibility of overpopulation in the future due to their presence together with that of the new beneficiaries. These realities were not considered by the planners of the model.

Judging from the divisions among beneficiaries emanating from the reallocation of land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, the environment for building and maintaining existing social networks was likely to be negatively affected. This is also in a context where a once very strong war veteran-led social network had been dissolved by various factors discussed in the previous chapters. Building trust and norms in the context of such tensions among beneficiaries is a difficult task. As noted by Putnam et al. (1993:171), “trust lubricates cooperation,” meaning that without trust there can be no cooperation. In other words, this does not enhance social capital.

This study therefore argues that land reform models should be designed to promote social capital, particularly in a community where part of the land and resources are communally shared and post-settlement support is limited. This creates a conducive environment for the full realisation of the positive benefits of land. The drastic effects of the absorption of more beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm on the social capital of beneficiaries indicate that the model was no longer promoting social capital. Thus, the attainment of the benefits of land would be limited. This is the major problem of the A1 villagised model. This kind of analysis is missing in the literature on FTLRP whose focus is biased towards the material outcomes of the programme.

#### **8.5.5 Strain on social infrastructure and services**

Another inevitable impact of the addition of new beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm is strain on social infrastructure and services. Opponents of the addition of beneficiaries

discussed this in detail. Some of their major concerns were on the reduction of communal grazing land to accommodate new beneficiaries, shortage of water and firewood. Beneficiary 6 expressed this concern in the following:

Where are they going to grow their crops and what will happen to our grazing land? They share water with us as well. They do not have their own borehole. I do not know how they calculated this especially concerning the arable plots and grazing land, and water sources which will now be shared by a lot of people (Interview with Beneficiary 6, 28 May 2015).

Beneficiary 17 agreed with Beneficiary 6:

I had told them at the meeting that we have been here for more than 10 years and the area is now clear there is no more firewood and we have not had many cattle in the past 10 years, but after 20 years we will all have cattle and where are they going to feed, if you put people here? Where are their fields going to be pegged? (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 2 June 2014).

Beneficiary 6 and Beneficiary 17's concerns are of great interest, considering that, at the time of the fieldwork, when the new beneficiaries were not yet permanently settled on the land, there was already a strain on existing social infrastructure and services. As discussed earlier, there was already a water shortage on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Beneficiary 17 further explained the possibility of putting a strain on the pump of the borehole, leading to the shortening of its lifespan (Interview with Beneficiary 17, 20 May 2015). Furthermore, the local businessman, who was also a FTLRP beneficiary on Rouxdale B, depended on the same borehole to provide water for his business.

The possibility of faster depletion of firewood because of the addition of new beneficiaries cannot be ignored. Grazing land had already been significantly reduced. The earlier sections of this chapter highlighted the pressure on already ill equipped services such as the primary and secondary schools, the health and extension services. Existing schools were already operating beyond their capacity. Other infrastructure, such as the communally shared dip, would be similarly affected. The addition of beneficiaries would worsen pressure on existing infrastructure and services and this is a significant weakness of the A1 villagised model. This is worsened by the fact that this addition of beneficiaries was not followed by any commitment by government to improve the social infrastructure and services to match growing numbers of beneficiaries.

#### **8.5.6 Implications on social capital**

There are other implications arising from the addition of beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It would create more tensions on existing social networks which were formed to combat challenges of social infrastructure and services. For example, an addition of new members to the network that coordinated the sharing of electricity costs for the borehole pump would create more dynamics and tensions, considering that already other beneficiaries within the old group were bitter that their children did not acquire land. This would likely be the same for other social networks created to combat challenges, especially those created by the VIDCO structure which already had problems of lack of cooperation. Divisions of people and strain on social services and infrastructure do not create a suitable environment for the formation of norms and trust, which are critical elements of social capital. This has been a major problem of the villagised model.

#### **8.5.7 Implications on livelihoods**

The study therefore questions the sustainability of beneficiaries' livelihoods on Rouxdale (R/E) farm and beyond, since this addition of beneficiaries is a countrywide phenomenon. As highlighted in the previous chapter, social capital creates a conducive environment for livelihood creation. The absence of that kind of environment negatively affects the positive benefits of land. If more beneficiaries are continuously added on A1 villagised farms in preparation for future elections as predicted by land officials, a crisis is inevitable. The fact that new beneficiaries were added on grazing land means that livestock rearing livelihood opportunities were minimised. This is worsened by that Rouxdale (R/E) is located in Region 4 of the aggro-ecological scale, most suitable for livestock rearing.

The hindrance of social capital also has direct disadvantages on crop production levels and beneficiaries in Matabeleland Provinces such as Rouxdale (R/E) farm are likely to suffer more due to dry agro-ecological conditions compared to those in wetter regions. As noted earlier in Chapter Seven, beneficiaries drew from their social capital to facilitate crop production. This unique contribution is missing in academic literature on the outcomes of FTLTP whose focus is mainly on material outcomes as the most important success, and less on social outcomes of land.

### **8.5.8 A1 villagised model: prospects for the future**

Overpopulation of people and livestock is one of the major problems most likely to happen on Rouxdale (R/E) farm and the A1 villagised model in the near future. Land officials were aware of this reality and one of them stressed the following:

So in the near future the land reform through the A1 villagised model will be a disgrace because there will be a lot of destruction because of overpopulation. Our purpose is to empower people. But if we are now going to crowd people in the grazing areas, that purpose becomes meaningless (Interview with land official, 22 September 2014).

Another land official concurred that “if this problem continues, communal areas will end up being be better off than A1 villages” (Interview with land official, 30 October 2014). The study therefore argues that this addition of beneficiaries works against some of the main policy objectives of the A1 villagised model. The model’s main aim was “decongestion and the relief of land pressure in overpopulated areas” and to enhance agricultural production of smallholder farmers (GoZ., 2001:11). Whether or not FTLRP decongested those areas where beneficiaries originated is an area for further research. However, this study found that FTLRP is mostly likely to cause overpopulation on Rouxdale (R/E) farm in the near future. As noted earlier, such additions of beneficiaries are likely to continue in successive elections where politicians use the allocation of land as a tool for garnering votes. The study therefore emphasises that FTLRP may, in the near future, end up creating congestion in the A1 villages using the same model of decongestion, and this is what is likely to happen on Rouxdale (R/E) farm.

In light of the above, the policy objective of enhancing agricultural production levels of smallholder farmers may not be achievable through the villagised model. While findings of the study are contrary to the critics of FTLRP, who argue that it was a failure, the study stresses that, if this problem of the villagised model continues, outcomes of FTLRP through the villagised model may, in the near future, move in that direction. The study therefore argues that land reform models in contexts where part of the land and resources are communally shared, should promote social capital. A model that does not promote social capital has negative consequences on the realisation of the positive benefits of land. Although the government’s intention was to promote social capital in the A1 villagised model, the addition of people contradicted this intention. This kind of analysis is missing among FTLRP

scholarly writings that elevate physical outcomes of land while neglecting the social aspects such as social capital.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed problems faced by beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm in the context of the A1 villagised model. It illustrated that most problems faced by beneficiaries, particularly the lack of post settlement support and inadequate social infrastructure and services, were common across A1 establishments in the country. The chapter showed that local government structures responsible for development, such as the VIDCO and WADCO, were incapacitated to adequately cater for all development needs of beneficiaries due to lack of capital. This led to the emergence of other social networks initiated by beneficiaries themselves, to address some of the multiple problems associated with the villagised model. This emphasised the important role of social capital in addressing collective problems. Again the chapter noted that these responses from beneficiaries were not unique to Rouxdale (R/E) farm but common throughout the country's A1 villagised farms. At this stage, the A1 villagised model was still providing livelihoods through social capital even in the midst of many problems.

The study argued that the flexibility of the A1 villagised model to accommodate the addition of beneficiaries on already allocated land was a major problem whose consequences would have a negative impact on the livelihoods of beneficiaries. The fact that this decision by the DLC created divisions among beneficiaries and a strain on already stretched social infrastructure and services, unfortunately hindered social capital. At this stage, the model would not continue to provide livelihoods, which were largely dependent on social capital. The study therefore argued that land reform models in a context where part of the land and resources are shared communally should promote social capital. This would create a favourable environment for the realisation of the benefits of land. This kind of analysis contributes to a wide gap in academic literature on the outcomes of FTLRP where most focus is on material outcomes with limited attention on the non-material outcomes.

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **Findings and Conclusion**

#### **9.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the main insights of the study. It provides brief detail on the focus of the study, particularly its objectives and location within scholarly debates on FTLRP. The chapter presents the contribution of the study as well as the main argument. It also summarises the main findings of the study which are, firstly that social capital played a key role in the acquisition of land. Secondly, that ordinary people acquired land. Thirdly, that land is an asset whose benefits are not limited to livelihood creation. Lastly, that land reform models have an impact on social capital. The last section of the chapter focuses on the recommendations of the study and final conclusion.

#### **9.2 Focus of the study**

The study sought to provide insight into the social outcomes of FTLRP using the concept of social capital. This was done to fill a gap in scholarly literature on FTLRP which focuses mainly on material outcomes of the programme and gives little attention to non-material outcomes. The limited studies on the non-material outcomes of FTLRP are drawn from Mashonaland and Masvingo Provinces. No comprehensive studies have been published on the social outcomes of the FTLRP in Matabeleland, thus making this study unique. The study investigated the role of social capital in the attainment of the benefits of land through the A1 crop-based villagised model of FTLRP. It examined the way this model of land allocation influenced social capital formation and its contribution to outcomes. Focus was on beneficiaries of Rouxdale (R/E) farm in the Bubi District of Matabeleland North Province, Zimbabwe. The study sought to address the following research sub-questions:

1. What was the role of social capital in the attainment of the positive benefits of the FTLRP?
2. What was the role of social capital in the land occupations?
3. What was the role of social capital in the land allocation process?
4. What were the problems of the A1 villagised model, and their implications on social capital, and the attainment of the benefits of land by beneficiaries?

The study emanated from contested debates of the outcomes of FTLRP in academic literature. Critics of FTLRP argue that it mostly benefited top government officials and those connected to them, while sidelining members of opposition parties and farmworkers (Bond, 2008; Sachikonye, 2003; Zamchiya, 2011). They argue that FTLRP led to a large drop in national commercial agricultural production (Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003; Sachikonye, 2003; Richardson, 2005). They also stress that, due to government's inability to provide adequate post-settlement support, FTLRP failed to produce the projected "small and medium capitalist farmers" (Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003:23). They emphasise that most FTLRP beneficiaries did not invest on the land due to lack of security of tenure (Sachikonye, 2003). In essence, critics see FTLRP as a failure (Derman, 2006). This gives the impression that FTLRP did not provide the benefits of land to most Zimbabweans.

Supporters of FTLRP on the other hand, highlight the progressive nature of the programme despite challenges faced by beneficiaries. They argue that FTLRP mostly benefited ordinary people with the inclusion of people from the opposition (Moyo, 2011b; Matondi, 2012). They stress that, even though national commercial production levels dropped because of FTLRP, there has been notable improvement over the years (Hanlon et al., 2013; Matondi, 2012). They argue that beneficiaries of FTLRP made significant investments on the land using personal finances due to limited post-settlement support (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2010; Mkodzongi, 2013a). They argue that FTLRP provided beneficiaries with livelihoods and that the A1 models have been the most successful (Mkodzongi, 2013a; Scoones et al., 2010; Matondi, 2012). The study highlighted that these debates focus mostly on material outcomes of FTLRP and very little on non-material outcomes of the programme.

Findings of this study are contrary to the view of the critics who see FTLRP as a failure. They concur with the supporters who point to the provision of livelihoods as a significant benefit of land. Social capital played an important role in this livelihood creation. Social networks introduced by local government structures (VIDCO and WADCO), contributed to this success. This was also facilitated by the instruction from government that all A1 villagised beneficiaries share inherited social infrastructure and services, highlighting the intention to promote social capital (Murisa, 2011; Murisa, 2013). These government structures were incapacitated to adequately address all developmental and collective problems as planned, due to limited capital. Furthermore, the social capital they created was not as strong as that of the war veteran led network responsible for land occupations. This led

to the emergence of other social networks initiated by beneficiaries to address some of the collective challenges. At this stage, the villagised model was still capable of supporting the attainment of the benefits of land, although beneficiaries faced many problems of limited post-settlement support. This outcome is common across the country, and is well documented (Murisa, 2011; Mkodzongi, 2013a; Mutopo, 2014b), and shows that indeed in a context where part of the land and resources are shared, social capital is a valuable asset.

The study found that the addition of more beneficiaries on already allocated land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm in 2014 was a unique and much bigger problem of the A1 villagised model with more serious implications. By creating divisions among beneficiaries, this decision made it difficult to sustain existing social networks by destroying trust, which is an important element of social capital (Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 2000). This would negatively affect the attainment of the benefits of land, which are dependent on social capital. Thus, at this stage capacity of the model to continue sustaining livelihoods would be limited. Overpopulation and overgrazing are some of the problems likely to ensue in the near future thereby congesting the Rouxdale (R/E) A1 villagised farm, further reducing livelihoods. If this problem is not addressed, outcomes of the A1 villagised model may consequently become a failure, as emphasised by the critics of FTLRP (Derman, 2006; Richardson, 2005).

The study therefore argued that, in a context where land and resources are communally shared and post-settlement support is limited, land reform models should be designed in such a manner that they promote social capital. A model that promotes social capital creates a conducive environment for the attainment of the positive benefits of land.

The study also found that social capital is dynamic. This is evidenced by the dissolution of the war veteran-led social network which was responsible for land occupations after beneficiaries were allocated land. It shows that social networks can be weakened or dissolved after a common goal has been achieved. The emergence of other social networks in response to the failure of the VIDCO and WADCO government leadership structures to adequately address collective problems on Rouxdale (R/E) farm illustrates that social capital is flexible to adapt to shifting collective goals. This also points to the dynamic nature of social capital.

The study adequately addressed the research question. This was facilitated by the choice of the qualitative methods of gathering and analysing data, which were suitable for such a study



on land reform and social capital whose data were drawn from multiple sources. Below is a summary of findings.

## **Research Findings**

### **9.3 Social capital played a pivotal role in accessing land**

Fieldwork data has shown that social capital played an important role in the land occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Just as in many parts of the country, a war veteran-led social network coordinated land occupations. This was a very strong network built from past friendships of war veterans who formed its core. Trust among these war veterans had been established as far back as the years of the liberation struggle in the 1970s, in Nkulumane Township, Bulawayo where most of these war veterans lived, and in war veteran meetings in Bulawayo where they strategised to collectively invade the same farm. This was a significant advantage considering that “trust lubricates cooperation” as noted by Putnam et al. (1993:171). When they invaded the farm, war veterans also accommodated non-war veterans into the network with the common goal of seeking for land. The accommodative nature of the war veteran networks was common countrywide, proving that the land question was a national problem (Sadomba, 2013; Chaumba et al., 2003a). This shows that social capital is not fixed and is flexible to accommodate different groups as long as the collaboration is driven by a common goal.

The war veteran-led network had very strict norms which ensured smooth coordination. Norms are a code of conduct that provide protection of the shared interests of the group from outside influence and reinforce the goals of the social network (Coleman, 1990). During the occupations, those who were formally employed in the city of Bulawayo hired representatives who lived on the farm base on their behalf, with the expectation that they made themselves available during weekends to attend regular meetings. They were also expected to contribute towards the supply of food for those on the farm base to maintain their commitment of remaining part of the group. This is just one of the many norms established by the war veteran-led social network during land occupations. The smooth, organised and non-violent coordination of the war veteran-led network was successful. The white farmer who had been renting the farm left the farm as a result of the presence of land occupiers.

Social capital also played a key role in acquiring land as evidenced by interview data for this study. The District Land Committee (DLC) representatives only considered members of the

network who had been living on the farm base, for allocation. Only two people outside the network who were soldiers were allocated land to balance the expected composition of beneficiaries. Secondly, war veterans of the network assisted the DLC members with land pegging. Only five residential plots were pegged by DLC representatives with the assistance of the war veterans on the official day of land allocation. The rest of the residential plots were pegged by war veterans following the model and measurements demonstrated by DLC representatives.

Social capital also facilitated access to reallocated land. After three years of land allocation in 2003, beneficiaries who had failed to build structures on their residential plots to show their commitment of investing on the land, were replaced by others. Most of these beneficiaries used their family social networks to access land, also known as bonding social capital, which is restricted to close knit groups and relationships such as families (Putnam et al., 1993). For example, Beneficiary 9's husband heard from his brother-in-law, who was part of the local authority on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, about an opportunity to replace a previous beneficiary who had failed to build a homestead up to 2003. After following the formal channels, he acquired land.

Analysis of data gathered for this study showed that social capital is dynamic such that social networks can weaken after a common goal is accomplished. Interview data revealed that the war veteran-led network responsible for land occupations succeeded in ensuring the acquisition of land by beneficiaries. However, the imposition of local governance structures responsible for village and Ward development (VIDCO and WADCO) soon after land allocation, dissolved the war veteran led network. By subdividing beneficiaries into committees responsible for various development initiatives on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, these government structures took over the war veteran-led network's main role of social organisation.

#### **9.4 Ordinary people acquired land**

Contrary to the critics of FTLRP who argue that the programme benefited the elite members of the ruling party and those connected to them, (Sachikonye, 2003) and that it largely isolated opposition supporters (Hammar and Raftolpulos, 2003; Bond, 2008), this study found that only ordinary people acquired land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Their socio-economic backgrounds were of low status. Most beneficiaries had minimum primary and secondary-

level education, only one had tertiary education, while a few had no formal education at all. Their previous and current forms of employment were ordinary and of low status. None of the beneficiaries were part of the privileged members of the ruling elite referred to by critics of FTLRP. These findings concur with the supporters of FTLRP that the programme benefited mostly ordinary people. Moyo (2011b:506) emphasises that “nationally, the largest number of beneficiaries of FTLRP were unemployed people mainly from rural areas.” Other studies in various parts of the country such as Scoones et al. (2010), Matondi (2012), Hanlon et al. (2013) concur with (Moyo, 2011a) above.

#### **9.4.1 Social differentiation of beneficiaries**

Although beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm were mostly ordinary people, they were highly differentiated. Their various socio-economic backgrounds, access to income, access to labor and ownership of assets, such as cattle and ploughs were the source of differentiation. This differentiated their capacity to utilise land. Beneficiaries were further differentiated by place of residence after land allocation. Most of the beneficiaries (eleven) lived on the farm and derived their primary livelihoods from the land. Two beneficiaries also lived on the farm and were also self-employed outside the farm. One beneficiary had been upgraded to an A2 farm at the time of fieldwork. The remaining four beneficiaries lived in the nearby city of Bulawayo. They hired people to conduct the day-to-day activities on the farm and visited the farm on a regular basis. An analysis of these sources of differentiation led to the emergence of three classes of beneficiaries. These are: “the upper middle peasants, the lower middle peasants and the poor peasants,” and this classification was borrowed from Patnaik (1976:A-85)’s model of class differentiation. Even though beneficiaries were differentiated, they were united by the war veteran-led social network responsible for land occupations with a common goal of seeking for land. Social capital’s ability to unite people from differentiated backgrounds is a significant strength.

#### **9.4.2 Urban origin of most beneficiaries**

Unlike other parts of the country, where the largest percentage of FTLRP beneficiaries originated mostly from communal areas, the case of Rouxdale (R/E) farm was different. About 89 percent of beneficiaries originated from the nearby urban area, Bulawayo. This is where the social capital of war veterans, who formed the core of the social network responsible for land occupations, was strengthened even before seeking for land.

### **9.4.3 Women's access to land**

While “patriarchal relations” have historically hindered women from acquiring individual titles to land in Zimbabwe (Mutopo, 2014a:200), Sub-Saharan Africa (Gray and Kevane, 1999; Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003) and the rest of Africa in general (Yngstrom, 2002), the Rouxdale (R/E) farm experience presented a different picture. Out of the twenty two beneficiaries who acquired land, eight women out of twenty two beneficiaries (36%) obtained individual titles, while others obtained access to land through marriage. This is a significant percentage, above the 5 percent national figure of black women who owned land in the Old Resettlement (1980-1990) and the 14 percent national figure of women who individually acquired land through FTLRP (Utete, 2003). FTLRP gave these women an opportunity to exercise their agency to access land, defying the common trend that women obtain access to land through marriage. One of the beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm accessed land through his wife who was a war veteran, meaning that men also do access land through marriage. Women's individual access to land is a notable success because “it enhances their ability to raise production by improving their access to credit, as well as their independent access to cash flows for reinvestment” (Agarwal, 2003:195). It also “increases their social and political status while improving their sense of confidence and security” (United Nations Women., 2013:2).

## **9.5 Land is an asset whose benefits surpass livelihood provision**

### **9.5.1 Crop production**

Drawing from the analysis of interview data for this study, land was beneficial in providing a livelihood through crop production. This is despite the fact that Rouxdale (R/E) farm is located in a dry agro-ecological belt with erratic rainfall and seasonal droughts where crop production levels are minimal. Beneficiaries grew various crops, with maize being the dominant crop as it is the staple food in Zimbabwe. Levels of production varied, with the upper middle peasants producing more than the lower middle and poor peasant classes. Agricultural produce catered for their subsistence needs in the face of a dwindling economy. Part of the crop supplemented food in urban areas. This shows the combination of rural and urban livelihoods. Some beneficiaries shared their crop with relatives in communal areas. During the years of surplus produce, some sold part of the produce to people in surrounding farms and former farmworker compounds. Crop production would not have been possible without the existence of several social networks that created a favourable environment for the attainment of this livelihood. These networks covered issues surrounding the selling of

agricultural produce, labour procurement, hiring out of farming tools and dissemination of agricultural information.

Agricultural production livelihoods after FTLRP are a common feature in Zimbabwe and have received tremendous scholarly attention. Some of the many scholars who have documented these are Mkodzongi (2013b), Mutopo (2011), Hanlon et al. (2013) and Mutopo (2014b). The combination of rural and urban livelihoods exhibited by beneficiaries is also common. Potts and Mutambirwa (1990) and Potts (2011) have discussed its prominence in Zimbabwe, while Tacoli (2002) has shown that this is also common within Sub-Saharan Africa in general.

### **9.5.2 Livestock production**

Livestock rearing was another livelihood benefit that emerged from interview data. Beneficiaries reared cattle, goats and poultry. Cattle were particularly important for various reasons. They provided draught power, milk and meat. Beneficiaries also sold their cattle in times of financial need. This is a livelihood benefit that would not have been available without access to land, since most beneficiaries originated from an urban area where they did not have land for livestock rearing. Social capital created a conducive environment for this livelihood opportunity. Networks established by the VIDCO local government structure facilitated the dipping of cattle and combated the problem of cattle theft. Livestock-related livelihoods in FTLRP farms has been well documented, see Chaumba et al. (2003a), Matondi (2012) and Moyo et al. (2009).

### **9.5.3 Mining opportunities**

Fieldwork data revealed that Rouxdale (R/E) farm beneficiaries obtained access to old mines within the farm and nearby Rouxdale B farm, where a few practiced mining as an additional livelihood. Even though they faced many operational challenges, the seasonal income was essential in financing agricultural activities and general sustenance. Beneficiaries who engaged in mining registered the mines in partnership with other people, which is a form of networking. Existing social networks of these miners within the surrounding communities were useful for procuring labour with previous experience in gold panning. In essence, social capital played a key role in this livelihood benefit of land. Access to mineral resources through FTLRP is also not peculiar to Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It has been documented in various studies such as Moyo et al. (2009), Mkodzongi (2013b), Scoones et al. (2010) who

have shown that, had it not been for FTLRP, beneficiaries would not have accessed mines within former white farms because they were privately owned.

#### **9.5.4 Restoration of social justice and healing**

This study found that access to land brought a sense of healing, restoration and social justice for beneficiaries who fought the liberation struggle, and this is a significant social benefit. As noted in Chapter Six, the quest for land had been a major motivation for joining the liberation struggle for most war veterans. War veterans had lost hope of ever obtaining land since the Old Resettlement of the 1980s to the 1990s was disrupted by many factors in Matabeleland Provinces (Alexander, 1991). During this period, Matabeleland Provinces were faced with ZANU PF-led post-war violence. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) discusses this period in more detail, while Alexander (1991)'s work further illustrates the manner in which the violence slowed down land reform. It is from this background that war veterans felt that acquiring land through FTLRP gave them a sense of healing, restoration and social justice. Even though they acquired land twenty years after independence, they felt that their participation in the liberation struggle was not in vain and that land restored their identity. This finding contributes to a wide gap in literature on FTLRP whose main focus is on the physical outcomes of the programme with very little attention to non-visible outcomes, which the study stresses, are equally important.

#### **9.5.5 A sense of belonging**

Another non-material benefit of FTLRP is that it gave beneficiaries a sense of belonging. As discussed in Chapter Six, most beneficiaries viewed a rural home as an important asset which provided a sense of belonging. This is despite the fact that many beneficiaries still owned houses in the city of Bulawayo. During interviews, beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm emphasised the sense of 'homeliness' derived from a rural home which is not present in city life. This explains "people's tendency to refer to their rural birthplaces as 'home' and urban dwellings as 'houses' in most literature on migration in Zimbabwe" (Potts, 2011:594). For the very few who did not own property either in the city or communal areas, FTLRP provided their first home and a place to belong. Considering that some beneficiaries' interest in obtaining land was to find a place of belonging, access to land through FTLRP did fulfil that desire and this is an invaluable benefit worthy of more scholarly attention.

### **9.5.6 Empowerment of women**

A close analysis of interview data for this study showed that FTLRP contributed to the empowerment of women and this is another important non-material benefit. It particularly provided those women, who had been unemployed in the city, an opportunity to create livelihoods for their families, which would not have been possible without access to land. They were empowered to generate income and make financial decisions in their households. Even though these women obtained access to land through marriage which, according to Gray and Kevane (1999) and Yngstrom (2002) impinges on the rights of the women in Sub-Saharan Africa and Africa, respectively, they were capitalising on it. Mkodzongi (2013b) and Mutopo (2011) have also discussed women's empowerment through access to livelihoods as an outcome of FTLRP.

Fieldwork evidence also revealed that women in the Rouxdale (R/E) farm started their own group project of planting vegetables for sale in the market in Bulawayo to supplement their income. A piece of land was allocated to this project by the Village Head. This is a positive sign of women empowering themselves and is an example of the use of social capital to access livelihoods. Although the vegetable project had been temporarily suspended due to shortages of water at the time of fieldwork, it is a significant example of women attempting to straddle multiple livelihoods. Similar initiatives by women are discussed by Mutopo (2014b) and Agarwal (2003).

## **9.6 Land reform models have an impact on social capital**

### **9.6.1 Challenges emanating from the FTLRP in general**

The structure and flexibility of land reform models have both a negative and positive impact on social capital. FTLRP allocated land with inadequate capital to provide post-settlement support such as infrastructure and social services (Moyo et al., 2009; Murisa, 2013; Mkodzongi, 2013a). Interview data for this study confirmed that this was also the case with Rouxdale (R/E) farm, where land was allocated using the A1 villagised model. Firstly, there were inadequate educational facilities, for instance, there was no secondary school when beneficiaries moved onto the land. They used an old farmhouse in the nearby A1 farm as a secondary school and it could not adequately accommodate all children. Health facilities were inadequate. There was no police station or business center, and beneficiaries had to travel 30km to access these. There was inadequate access to water. All beneficiaries shared one borehole which had been drilled by previous white farmers. Extension services provided

by the government were ineffective due to various problems including lack of financial support.

### **9.6.2 Limited capacity of local government structures to address challenges**

Interview data for this study revealed that the imposition of local government structures, particularly the VIDCO and WADCO, soon after beneficiaries acquired land, weakened the war veteran-led network which successfully coordinated land occupations. The main developmental responsibility of these structures replaced the war veteran-led network's role of social organisation. VIDCO and WADCO faced many problems, the main ones being the lack of financial support from government, lack of cooperation from beneficiaries and the unpopularity of the Village Head, who was an overseer of VIDCO. These problems were an impediment to the implementation of many development plans and addressing of collective problems. Thus, these government structures were not capacitated to adequately address many of the problems faced by beneficiaries in the context of the villagised model. Consequently, the kind of social capital created by local government structures was much weaker than that of the war veteran-led network.

Despite all the problems, VIDCO successfully coordinated social networks responsible for managing water sources and cattle-related problems. The network responsible for cattle for instance, successfully addressed the problem of cattle theft in the area by lobbying for the establishment of a police station situated on Rouxdale (R/E) farm. Members of the network took turns to partner with police on night patrols to safeguard livestock from thieves. The Ward Councillor, through funds from the Rural District Council, also successfully initiated, through WADCO, the building of two blocks of a secondary school which would cater for all beneficiaries in the Ward. This was a very small contribution to the problem of inadequate educational facilities since these two blocks would not accommodate all the children in the Ward.

### **9.6.3 Emerging social networks**

In response to the failure of VIDCO and WADCO to address many challenges faced by beneficiaries, other social networks emerged, being initiated by beneficiaries themselves, to address collective problems. This response to problems was similar to other cases across the country and portrays the dynamic nature of social capital, in particular its flexibility in response to shifting collective goals. According to fieldwork data for this study, these



networks were: the burial club, churches, agricultural production-related networks and mining networks. One of the agricultural production-related networks, for example, was that of hiring out of ploughing tools. The study found that beneficiaries who did not have cattle and ploughs hired these tools for ploughing from their neighbours who did. Through these relations, social networks were built where these beneficiaries depended on others every year during the ploughing season. These findings show that, in areas where post-settlement support is limited, social capital plays a key role. The emergence of these multiple small networks after the weakening of the war veteran-led network proves that social capital is indeed a valuable asset especially in a context where part of the land and resources are communally shared. Murisa (2013) and Chiweshe (2011) provide an in-depth analysis of networks that emerged to address problems faced by beneficiaries in A1 farms.

#### **9.6.4 Challenges emanating from the A1 villagised model**

The flexibility of the A1 villagised model in allowing the addition of more beneficiaries on already allocated land is the major problem which hindered social capital. This emerged strongly in fieldwork interview data for this study. In 2000, 21 beneficiaries were allocated land on Rouxdale (R/E) farm, with one additional beneficiary in 2003 bringing total residential plots to 22. Upon the request of some of the beneficiaries that their children be allocated land on the same farm, twenty-two more beneficiaries were added in 2014, with their residential plots pegged on communal grazing land. Their arable plots were yet to be pegged, also on grazing land. The initial expectation had been that the additional beneficiaries would be drawn from within the farm. However, only a few beneficiaries' children acquired land and the rest were beneficiaries were from outside Rouxdale (R/E) farm.

#### **9.6.5 Barriers to social capital**

The addition of new beneficiaries created division between those whose children acquired land and those whose children did not. This had serious implications. This would, in the near future, create a serious strain on existing social networks therefore hindering social capital. Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1990) emphasise trust as an important element of social capital which builds cooperation. It would therefore be more difficult to rebuild trust in a context where beneficiaries were already divided by the addition of new beneficiaries to the A1 villagised model. The model therefore transformed friendships of war veterans that were very strong, into strangers. More focus was on tensions resulting from the villagised model, and

less on maintaining the war veteran led social network that once held them together. As noted in Chapter Eight, many of the VIDCO-established networks already suffered from lack of cooperation from beneficiaries and these would be more negatively affected. This study discussed in Chapter Seven, that social capital creates a favourable environment for the realisation of the benefits of land. Therefore, without social capital, beneficiaries' capability to access the positive benefits of land would be limited.

It is from this premise that the study emphasises the need for land reform models that promote social capital to allow for fuller attainment of the positive benefits of land. This is particularly true in a context like Rouxdale (R/E) farm where part of the land and resources are communally shared and post-settlement support is limited, making social capital an important asset. This unique analysis is missing in studies on outcomes of FTLRP who are biased towards material outcomes of the programme while neglecting non-material outcomes. The study emphasised that these non-material outcomes are important and provide a bigger picture of the FTLRP experience.

#### **9.6.6 Strain on social infrastructure and services**

The addition of new people on Rouxdale (R/E) farm would add more pressure on already strained and inadequate social infrastructure and services. This would be worsened by the fact that government did not make any commitment to improving these services to match growing numbers. It would further strain existing networks whose role was to manage these services. For instance, twenty-two beneficiaries had established a network for sharing costs of electricity for the borehole pump which was well coordinated. Introducing an additional twenty-two beneficiaries to this network in such a tension-ridden environment would weaken the network, hindering social capital. As discussed in Chapter Eight, there was already a shortage of water on Rouxdale (R/E) farm as evidenced by the temporary suspension of the women's vegetable project discussed in Chapter Seven. The study therefore emphasises that further strain on such crucial resources would definitely limit the benefits of land. Scholars of FTLRP have focused less on such non-material issues of social networks which heavily influence the material outcomes such as agricultural production and livelihoods.

#### **9.6.7 Negative implications on livelihoods**

This study found that the addition of more beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm would, in the near future have negative consequences on livelihoods of beneficiaries. The fact that new

beneficiaries were allocated land on communal grazing land means that livestock-rearing livelihood opportunities were reduced. The hindrance of social capital also has direct disadvantages on crop production which, as noted in Chapter Seven, depended heavily on social networks. Beneficiaries on Rouxdale (R/E) farm would be more affected due the farm's location in a Matabeleland Province with fairly dry agro-ecological conditions and inevitably lower crop production levels. Those beneficiaries who resided permanently on the farm and derived most of their livelihood from the land would be most affected. It is from this premise that the study challenges the sustainability of livelihoods of beneficiaries through the A1 villagised model. It also questions the longevity of the successes of the A1 model portrayed in literature and this is the study's unique contribution.

#### **9.6.8 Prospects for the future under the A1 villagised model**

Fieldwork findings for this study highlighted the likelihood of overpopulation in the A1 Village of Rouxdale (R/E) farm. As highlighted in Chapter Eight, these additions of beneficiaries are likely to continue in successive elections where politicians use reallocation of allocated land as a means of garnering votes. The grown children who did not acquire land would also add to the problem of overpopulation, considering that they had their own families. Overstocking is likely to follow after overpopulation of people therefore worsening the situation. These problems have a drastically negative effect on social capital and, inevitably, the beneficiaries' ability to access benefits of land, which highly depend on it. This scenario is contrary to the main policy objectives of the A1 villagised model; that of "creating decongestion and the relief of land pressure in overpopulated areas" and the enhancing of agricultural production levels of smallholder farmers (GoZ., 2001:11). This objective may not be achievable in the near future. In fact, the study emphasises that, while the A1 model claims to be creating decongestion in overpopulated areas, it may end up in the near future creating congestion in A1 villages. This unique contribution is missing in studies of FTLRP whose main focus is on the material outcomes of the programme while almost neglecting the social outcomes, yet the latter heavily influence the former.

While findings of the study are contrary to the critics of FTLRP, who argue that it was largely a failure, the study emphasises that, if the problem of the addition of beneficiaries in the villagised model continues, outcomes of FTLRP through the model will, in the near future, move in that direction. The study therefore argues that land reform models in contexts where part of the land and resources are communally shared, should promote social capital.

## 9.7 Discussion

Social capital is a popular concept which has been heavily criticised in scholarly literature. In this study, the concept has been applied to the context of land reform, particularly in understanding the nature and character of the war veteran-led social network which was responsible for land occupations, and post-settlement collective action. The study found that social capital is an important element in land reform. Its invaluable input was seen in the successful coordination of the war veteran-led social network which achieved its goal of acquiring land. Further, various networks which emerged after land allocation facilitated the tackling of different problems emanating from limited post-settlement support. Thus, the study has proven, in line with the proponents of social capital that although it has weaknesses, it is a valuable asset (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990).

The concept of social capital enhanced the understanding of land reform in the case study of Rouxdale (R/E) farm to a large extent. Its core elements of norms and trust, which are the foundation of network relationships (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990; Field, 2003), were strongly confirmed by the findings of the study. For example, the war veteran-led social network' strength was in the relationships of war veterans which had been built over time since the period of the liberation struggle, therefore establishing trust. The network had various norms that facilitated its success. For example, all members of the network were required to provide food during land occupations, even those who were absent during working hours to ensure that their names remained on the list to be presented to the District Land Officers during land allocation.

The composition of the war veteran-led social network responsible for land occupations on Rouxdale (R/E) farm was a form of horizontal social capital where members of a particular group are more or less of equal social standing and influence (Putnam et al., 1993). While the beneficiaries were differentiated, they fell under the lower social and economic status as discussed in Chapter Six. However, vertical social capital, which denotes networks with members of different social and economic status (Putnam et al., 1993; Putnam, 2000) was not a strong element in the case study, although the war veteran-led social network received advice from DLC members who were of a higher social class. The strength and success of the network was drawn from their collective problem of landlessness in a context of an ailing economy, thus emphasising the importance of social capital.

The study found that social capital is more effective in a smaller group of people and any change in the dynamics of the group could lead to destruction in relationships. This fragility of social capital, highlighted by its critics, was a key element in this study (Kay, 2006). The study found that the land reform model's absorption of more beneficiaries on already allocated land, following the decision of the state, destroyed relationships in various post-settlement networks thus hindering social capital. This had serious implications such as the limiting of the attainment of the benefits of land which are highly dependent on social capital. Thus, any negative external influence has the potential of destroying or weakening social capital. Thus, while it is true that relationships within social networks are built over time through the strengthening of norms and trust (Putnam et al., 1993; Coleman, 1990), the study found that social capital is not a linear process and can easily be broken regardless of the strength of relationships.

The critics of social capital also argue that it is context specific (Foley and Edwards, 1999; Poder, 2011) and this emerged in the findings of the study. The communal element of the Rouxdale (R/E) farm in which beneficiaries were to share some resources, limited post-settlement support from the government in the context of a dwindling economy made social capital an invaluable resource. It created the need for beneficiaries to collaborate to address collective challenges emanating from limited post-settlement support. Thus, social capital is dynamic, and can be applied in any environment in light of its unique and context specific needs.

The case study of Rouxdale (R/E) farm has demonstrated that governments that use social capital in land reform and resettlement areas should be knowledgeable about the specific contexts before making decisions that directly affect beneficiaries. This study found that the government was not informed about the impact of its decision to add more beneficiaries on already allocated land in Rouxdale (R/E) farm. It has illustrated how this decision destroyed social capital, and how the benefits of land, which depend on social capital would be reduced.

This study found social capital to be a useful resource in the context of land reform. As mentioned earlier, where social capital was adequately cultivated, Rouxdale (R/E) beneficiaries reaped benefits of land such as the attainment of livelihoods. Thus, the study falls in line with the proponents of social capital that is valuable (Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000). It also found the fragility and context specific nature of social capital to

be critical elements of the concept (Kay, 2006; Foley and Edwards, 1999). However, these are missing in the conceptualisation of the key scholars of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000), who only focus on trust and norms as the core elements of the concept. Thus, the study argues that a more holistic definition of social capital should be inclusive of its fragile and context specific nature.

### **9.8 Recommendations of the study**

In light of the findings discussed above, the study recommends a revision of the FTLRP policy to hinder the addition of beneficiaries on already allocated land in A1 villages. Strict measures to avoid this problem should be established to limit the politicisation of land as a tool for garnering votes by politicians. This revision should be sensitive to the need for healthier social capital in the A1 villages since they cannot survive without it due to their communal nature and lack of post-settlement support.

The study also recommends that the government should provide more post-settlement support to land reform beneficiaries. This would equip them to maximise agricultural production without facing many challenges. Thus, land reform's goal of reducing poverty would be addressed. The state should not interfere in the daily running of A1 villagised farms as top-down decisions often have serious consequences on beneficiaries. However, beneficiaries themselves should be consulted by the state, before decisions that affect them can be made to limit problems.

### **9.9 Conclusion**

Using the case study of Rouxdale (R/E) A1 villagised farm beneficiaries to assess the role of social capital towards the attainment of benefits of land, the study had four main insights. First, social capital played a pivotal role in accessing land. Second, ordinary people acquired land. Third, land is an asset whose benefits surpass livelihood provision. Last, land reform models have an impact on social capital.

The study has demonstrated that non-material outcomes of land reform are equally important as material outcomes. Previous studies on FTLRP in Zimbabwe have placed much emphasis on material outcomes, such as agricultural production and livelihoods, to the detriment of other equally less visible outcomes such as social relations and the symbolic nature of land as a source of restoration of justice. Limited studies focusing on the non-material outcomes of

the FTLRP are largely drawn from Mashonaland and Masvingo Provinces. This is the first comprehensive study on social capital and land reform in Matabeleland North Province, an area with limited scholarship focus on the subject of land reform. The study has shown that material outcomes of FTLRP directly benefit from non-material outcomes such as social capital for their attainment.

The study concludes that social capital plays a key role in creating collaborative action in land reform and post-settlement phase. This is particularly in land reform models where beneficiaries share some of the communal resources, and with limited post-settlement support from the government. It has shown that social capital creates a conducive environment for the attainment of the benefits of land, especially where beneficiaries prioritise the strengthening of social network relationships. The study stresses that certain government decisions in a state-led land reform programme have the potential of destroying social capital in resettlement areas, thus reducing its positive impact. This often manifests in the form of the disintegration of social network relationships which are often built over long periods of time, thus pointing to the fragile nature of social capital. The study also emphasises that social capital is context specific. Thus, governments that adopt social capital in the implementation of their programmes should be sensitive to the varying characteristics of different contexts which directly affect outcomes. Key scholars of social capital missed its fragile and context specific nature, yet they also emerge significantly in this study. Thus, these should be incorporated into the core elements of social capital to create a holistic framework of analysis. Therefore, my study argues that land reform models with a communal element, and where post-settlement support is limited, should be designed in such a way that they promote social capital.

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